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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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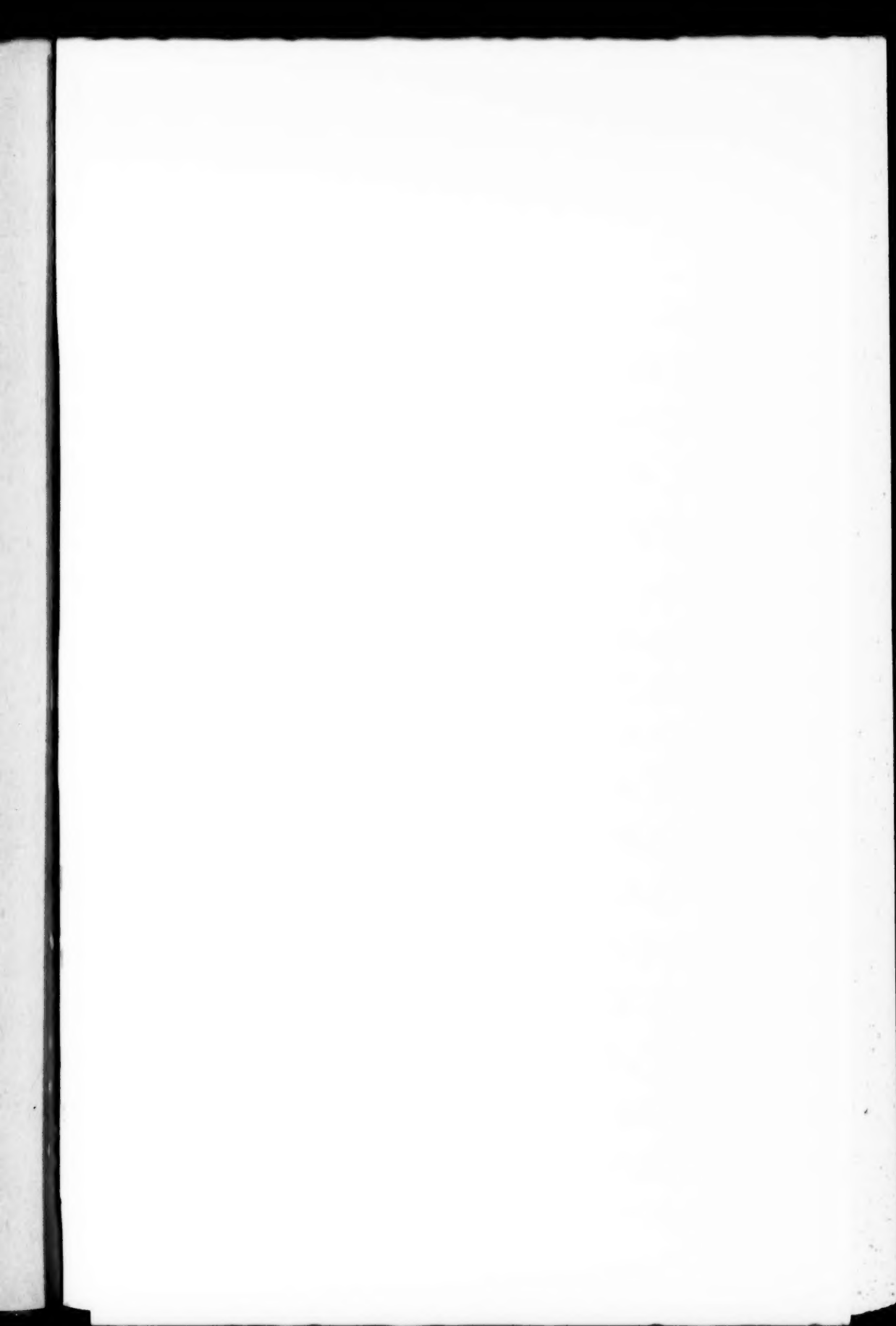
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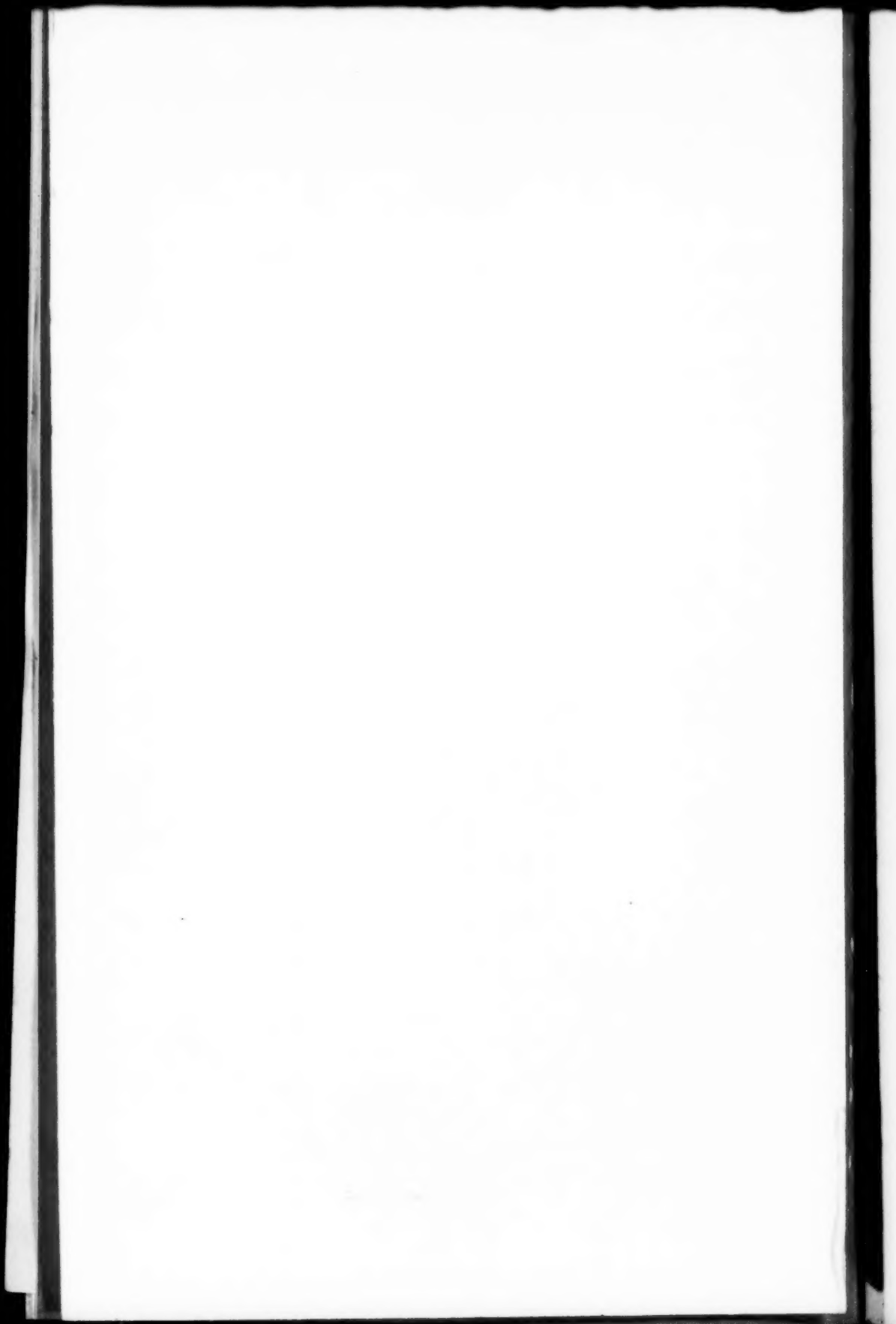
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VOL. XII

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EDITORIAL NOTE

AN IMPORTANT LETTER FROM A PROFESSOR OF HISTORY

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES

January 1, 1943.

The Rev. E. Clowes Chorley, D. D.
Editor-In-Chief,
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

DEAR DR. CHORLEY:

. . . In documenting the part which the Episcopal Church has played in our story (of the supreme importance of religion in the building of the American Way of Life), the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is rendering a great service to our country. Heritage, tradition, memory build the picture of a people and I join you in not merely hoping but also in expecting this periodical to continue. Indeed, the MAGAZINE has been happy in solving its historical problems and all recent issues show how the complicated history of the Episcopal Church can be told. The September (1942) number ("Origins of the Episcopal Church Press") gave one aspect of the work of the Church for a period of years. The December number shows the problems in foreign fields and the effect of recent mass immigration on the growth of the Church in the United States. Also, the Book Reviews are becoming of increasing value.

Besides, Church History is now coming to the front among laymen as never before. The masses of Church records of all Churches are so great that the Churches themselves have to pitch in and tell their own stories. And in doing this job, the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is rendering a great service not merely to its own members, but also setting a fine example for other religious bodies to follow, and providing much of infinite value to the lay scholar. And so again, my heartiest congratulations to you and all your fellow scholars.

Ever Yours,

FRANK J. KLINGBERG

The Editors and the members of the Joint Committee of General Convention on HISTORICAL MAGAZINE consider that the above letter more than justifies them in soliciting the support, by renewing their subscriptions or by becoming new subscribers or by enlisting others as subscribers, of the bishops, the other clergy, and the laymen of the Church.

ABRAHAM JARVIS (1739-1813): SECOND BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT (1797-1813)

By William A. Beardsley

AFTER Bishop Seabury's death, February 25th, 1796, it was nearly a year and seven months before his successor was consecrated. This was not due to any indifference or negligence on the part of the Connecticut convention, for promptly on May 5th, 1796, the convention met in New Haven, and proceeded to the election of a bishop. The ballots showed the election of the Rev. Abraham Jarvis, and a committee was appointed to wait on him, and to "acquaint him with his election to the episcopate, and to request an answer whether he will accept it or not."

The convention adjourned for half an hour, at the end of which, the committee reported that Mr. Jarvis declined the election. It would seem as if that were a rather short time in which to make a momentous decision. But the minutes of the convention give only the bare facts. There was more to it all than appears on the surface. In a manuscript letter¹ in the archives of the diocese there is an inkling of the real situation. The letter says in part:

"I have just Received an Account of the Doings of the late Connecticut Convention, relative to the Election of a Bishop—I thot possibly you might not be informed of it & that a line on this Subject, might be acceptable—

There was a great deal of electioneering, among both Clergy & Laity—they had to go round, a number of times before they were able to declare a choice—It was however at last decided, in favor of *Doctor Jarvis*—the Clergy, wished to have a Bp. in the State—Mr Bowden,² absolutely declined—after the Clergy had made a choice—a Committee waited upon the Lay delegates for their approbation, upon whh a Violent Struggle ensued & after an earnest debate, about the manner in whh they should give in their Determinations—It was at last agreed that they should give in their yeas & nays, with their names annexed—& their (*sic*) appeared a majority of two only in favor of the Choice."

Dr. Jarvis was ultimately elected, but declined, and here in this letter is the reason in part. And no doubt the wish of the clergy to

¹From Rev. Abraham S. Clark to Dr. Samuel Parker of Boston, May 10th, 1796.

²Rev. John Bowden (1751-1817).

select someone within the State, and the contrary wish of the laity to go outside of the State, was in a large measure responsible for the contest. The diocese had no Bishop's Fund and that further complicated matters. Before the adjournment of the convention it was, "*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to prefer a memorial to the general assembly, for an act of incorporation, to establish a fund for the support of the Bishop of Connecticut." After that the convention adjourned to meet in October next.

It did meet then, and at the outset it was determined that "no other business shall be done at this adjourned Convention, to be recorded, but only the business of electing a Bishop." The election took place, and the Rev. John Bowden was chosen. This was on October 19th, 1796. Mr. Bowden requested that he might defer giving his answer until the annual convention in June. His request was granted, and when the answer was given it was in the negative. And still Connecticut was without a successor to Seabury.

But at an adjourned convention held in Derby, June 7th, 1797, the Rev. Mr. Jarvis was unanimously elected by the clergy, which election was unanimously concurred in by the laity, a method of election which prevailed in Connecticut until quite recent years. And thus happily came to an end the difficulties which the convention had experienced in the choice of a successor to Seabury. The clergy had succeeded in having one of their own number elected.

And now who was Abraham Jarvis? Let us get our answer from a manuscript letter in the archives of the diocese of Connecticut, written by the Rev. Samuel Farmar Jarvis,^a son of the bishop, distinguished scholar and author. It was written at the request of the Rev. Tillotson Bronson⁴ immediately after the death of the bishop, May 3rd, 1813.

"New Haven May 23, 1813.

Rev. & Dear Sir

I find myself somewhat at a loss respecting the communication which you wished me to send you, respecting my late father:—Had you proposed to me, the points on which you wished to receive information, in the shape of question, I should perhaps have been better able to give you satisfaction.—As it is, I send you the following dates, & if you need any thing more you will be pleased to let me know it.

Abraham Jarvis was one of ten children, & the youngest but one, of Sam¹ Jarvis of the town of Norwalk in Conn^t Born May 5. 1739. OS. Fitted for college under Dr Noah Wells

^a(1786-1851).

⁴(1762-1826), Principal of Episcopal Academy of Connecticut, Editor of *Churchman's Magazine*.

the congregational minister at Stamford. Entered in 1757. was graduated AB. 1761.—Soon after, went to Middletown, where he officiated as Lay reader. Nov^r 14th 1763, the wardens & vestrymen of Xt's Church in that town, signed his Title, agreeing to receive him as their minister in the event of his obtaining orders. Soon after he sailed for England.—He was ordained Deacon by Frederick Keppel Bp of Exeter in the Royal chapel at St James's Westminster on Sunday Feb^r 5th 1764.—Priest by Charles Lyttleton Brother of Lord Lyttleton, Bp of Carlisle, Sund. Feb. 19. 1764 in the parish Church of St. James's Westminster. These two Bps acted on this occasion as Suffragans to the Bp of Lond.—Licensed to perform the office of a priest in N Eng. by Rich^d Osbaldeston Bp of London Feb. 28th 1764 consecrated Bp. in Trinity Chh NewHaven on the Fest. of St Luke. Wednes. Oct. 18. 1797. by Bps. White, Provost & Bass (Edward)—Resigned the Rectorship of Xt's Chh Middletown & removed to Cheshire in 1799.—Lost his wife Nov^r 4. 1801. Removed to NewHaven Dec. 1802.—Married his second wife Lucy the widow of Nathaniel Lewis, July 4. 1806.—Departed this life. May 3^d 1813 in the 74th year of his age, & in the 16 of his Consecration.—

To morrow I shall set out for NewYork, where I shall at all times be happy to hear from you.

I am, dear Sir,

Your friend & Brother
Sam^l F. Jarvis.

Rev. Mr Bronson"

There we have from an authoritative source, in a bold and condensed form, the salient facts of the bishop's life. We may now proceed to fill in some of the more important details. This bare statement of facts was later expanded by its author into a lengthy sketch of the bishop published in *The Evergreen* for 1846.

It ought to be noted that about a month before his consecration Yale College had honored Mr. Jarvis with the degree of doctor in divinity. He was at the time of his election to the episcopate rector of Christ Church, Middletown, now Church of the Holy Trinity. It was in this church that Bishop Seabury, after his return from his consecration, held his first ordination, August 3^d, 1785.

At the close of the Revolutionary War there were fourteen clergymen of the Church of England remaining in Connecticut. Among that number was the Rev. Abraham Jarvis of Middletown. The condition of the Church was pathetic, the feeling towards it was bitter. Cut off as it was from the mother Church of England its continued existence was precarious. Now that it was independent the first thing necessary was

the completion of its organization. All felt that, and none felt it more keenly than the Connecticut group.

The American colonies had been under the nominal oversight of the bishop of London. They were no longer under his oversight. They were without a bishop, even one three thousand miles away. How to remedy this, how to obtain that which they believed was essential to the very existence of the Church, was never out of their minds. This Connecticut group of clergy finally took the matter into their own hands. A bishop they wanted, and a bishop they would try to get. They could at least make the venture.

They were accustomed to meet in "Voluntary Conventions." From March 29th, 1739, to August 2nd, 1785, there were twenty such conventions held in different places. Unfortunately the minutes of those meetings, except in two or three cases, have not been preserved, or better, perhaps, have not yet come to light.*^{1/2} The meeting on March 25th, 1783, was held in Woodbury. The importance of that meeting was such that we could wish that we had the record of its doings. Probably there was a record, because there was a secretary, and Abraham Jarvis was that secretary. That much we know.

That Woodbury Convention has been so voluminously dealt with that it is not necessary to dwell upon it here. It will be enough to say for the present record that of the fourteen clergymen in Connecticut ten were at the meeting, only three of whom are known, the Rev. John Rutgers Marshall, rector of the parish and host, the Rev. Abraham Jarvis of Middletown, and the Rev. Daniel Fogg of Brooklyn. Eleven remain from whom to choose the seven, and one man's guess is as good as another. If regularity of attendance at the meetings from 1790 on, the

* ^{1/2}*Editor's Note:* The following original minutes of conventions of the Connecticut clergy have been published in full in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, Volume III (1934):

1766, May 28, at Wallingford.....pp. 56-57
 1784, June 8-10, at New Milford.....pp. 57-58
 1785, August 2-5, at Middletown.....pp. 59-64

The following original minutes of conventions of the Connecticut clergy are extant among the Jarvis Papers in the Massachusetts Diocesan Library, Boston, and will be published in full in some future issue of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

1774, September 21, at Norwalk
 1776, June 4-6, at Waterbury
 1776, July 23-25, at New Haven
 1780, May 23-25, at Derby
 1781, June 12-14, at Litchfield
 1783, June 18, at Simsbury
 1787, May 30, at Stamford
 1789, September 15-16, at Stratfield

minutes of which have been published,⁵ is any criterion as to the attendance at the Woodbury meeting, then we may safely assume that the Rev. Bela Hubbard of New Haven, and the Rev. Richard Mansfield of Derby were present. Dr. Hubbard's score is almost perfect, and Dr. Mansfield's is not far behind. And the Rev. Mr. Jarvis was faithful in his attendance.

The business transacted at that convention was fraught with momentous and far-reaching consequences. It was a bold venture they were making, but they were bold men, their boldness stiffened by the exigency of the case. They felt, and rightly so, that the hope of the Church here in the new world under the conditions imposed upon it by the Revolution, depended upon the completion of its organization, in the manner in which they believed it should be completed, to conform to the true conception of the Church.

Consequently at that meeting in Woodbury, presumably summoned for the purpose, they chose one to go abroad for consecration as bishop of Connecticut. There seems to have been some secrecy about that meeting, and perhaps it is not difficult to understand why there was. The few facts which we have come to us in an indirect way, namely, through a letter of the Rev. Daniel Fogg, who was present, to the Rev. Samuel Parker of Massachusetts who had expected to attend, going on with Fogg to the meeting. It is in one of Fogg's letters apologizing for not waiting for him that we get a little of our information.

"I wrote you a few lines the 2d inst., by an uncertain coveyance in which I attempted to excuse myself by throwing the blame upon you, for not waiting for you, till the time you mentioned. I now plead guilty & beg your forgiveness."

Samuel Parker was afterwards the first bishop of Massachusetts, though he never performed any episcopal acts, as death prematurely intervened.

While no minutes of that Woodbury meeting have come to light, yet certain documents followed almost immediately, which give us somewhat in detail the purport of it all, letters to the archbishops of Canterbury and York, signed by Abraham Jarvis, "Minister of the Episcopal Church in Middletown, and Secretary to the Convention."

Of the men gathered at that meeting he was the one best qualified to act as scribe, or secretary, if we may judge from the testimony of the Rev. Daniel Burhans,⁶ a contemporary and acquaintance of long standing. Speaking of Dr. Jarvis he says:—"He had an uncommon tact at

⁵The Records of Convocation, 1790-1848.

⁶(1763-1853). Sprague's *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, p. 239.

public business, and in a talent at drafting petitions, memorials, &c., had few, if any, superiors." Certainly the various documents and letters bearing on the election and consecration of Seabury, whether signed by Jarvis alone or in conjunction with others, in which case he was probably the author, give good proof of the truth of Dr. Burhans' words.

As we are not now concerned with the story of Dr. Seabury's efforts to gain consecration, we may pass over his strenuous and disheartening days of waiting, when at times it seemed as if his quest would fail, and return with him to America. He is a bishop, and that is what he hoped and prayed he might be when he set sail from America. He came to New London, where he was to make his home, and serve as rector in addition to his episcopal duties.

The Church had so long and so much desired a bishop that he lost no time in beginning the exercise of his office. He must meet his clergy at once, and so he writes to Mr. Jarvis to announce his safe arrival, and to express the hope that he will visit him soon that they may arrange the time and place of the meeting of the clergy, which, as he says, "should be as soon as practicable." Naturally it would be with Mr. Jarvis with whom he would communicate, because all along he had been the able secretary acting in behalf of the clergy.

There was no church in New London, as it had been destroyed in the Revolution, and very likely at the suggestion of Mr. Jarvis himself, Middletown, the parish of which he was rector, was chosen as the place of that first meeting of the clergy with their bishop. It was more central than New London, and the church, Christ Church as it was then, was adequate for the service of ordination. The convention met at the parsonage. The minutes of this convention have recently been published, and they furnish a detailed account of the order of events.⁷

There were ten of the Connecticut clergy present. The Rev. Mr. Leaming⁸ was chosen president. Bishop Seabury's letters of consecration were requested, and to quote from the minutes, "they were produced and read, whereby it appeared to this Con: that he hath been duly & canonically consecrated a Bishop by the Bishops of the Epis: Chh: in Scotland." It fell to the lot of Mr. Jarvis, in the name of the clergy, to declare "to the Bishop their Confirmation of their former Election of him, & that they now acknowleg^d & rec^d him their Bp." Then followed the ordination service, the first ever held in this country, when four men⁹ were ordained deacons, and "Mr. Jarvis officiated as Arch-Deacon." In the Church of England service it is the archdeacon who

⁷*Historical Magazine*, Vol. 3, p. 59.

⁸Jeremiah Learning (1717-1804).

⁹Colin Ferguson, Henry Van Dyke, Ashbel Baldwin, Philo Shelton.

presents the candidates, and vouches for their fitness to be admitted deacons. And, of course, it was the English ordinal used at that service.

As we have already seen, it was Mr. Jarvis, rector of Christ Church, Middletown, able and influential presbyter of the diocese, who was elected to succeed Bishop Seabury, and who was consecrated October 18th, 1797. That date should be particularly noted, because an erroneous date has frequently appeared in print.

It was not the only time, by the way, that Mr. Jarvis was elected bishop. The southern clergy, the clergy, that is, of New York and all below, were pursuing a course which seemed ominous to Bishop Seabury and his clergy. The danger may be sensed in a letter of the Rev. Benjamin Moore of New York to the Rev. Samuel Parker of Boston. He says:

"I have my fears, but not so very apprehensive as you appear to be, that a schism must take place in our Church. A few people in this State, from old grudges on the score of politics, have determined to circumscribe, as far as they possibly can, the authority of Bishop Seabury. But they will not be able to effect their purpose to any great degree. His Episcopal powers have already been acknowledged by most of the Southern States, and truth and justice will in due time get the better of prejudice and partiality."¹⁰

In the light of what was going on to the south, Bishop Seabury felt that if anything happened to him all that he and his clergy had been working for would go by the board. The way to obviate this was to secure a "canonical number of Bishops of the Scottish line" for New England. He called his clergy together February 27th, 1786, in Wallingford, and they proceeded to elect another clergyman to go to Scotland for consecration. The choice ultimately fell upon Mr. Jarvis, Doctors Leaming and Mansfield, in that order, having first been designated, and both having declined.

Fortunately, there was no haste in putting the plan into operation. That is no reflection upon Mr. Jarvis, for had it been carried out, there was real danger that a serious split between the Church in the North and the Church in the South might have resulted. As it was, the danger which Bishop Seabury feared did not materialize, wise counsels prevailed, and the American Church went forward as one.

A project which had been much in Bishop Seabury's mind, and was nearing its realisation at the time of his death was the establishment of the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut at Cheshire. The date of its organization is given as 1794, when the committee appointed to

¹⁰Wm. Stevens Perry. *Historical Notes and Documents*, p. 342.

form a plan for establishing an academy reported to the convention of the diocese.¹¹ But it was not until June 1796 that its doors were opened for the reception of students.

Bishop Seabury had died in February of that year, and so did not see the completion of the undertaking which was so dear to his heart. It remained for his successor, Bishop Jarvis, to carry on and develop the project, which he did in ways which he could as head of the diocese, but best of all by putting his stamp of approval upon it by sending his son there. Now that he was bishop, the cares and labors of that office absorbed his time and energy, and in 1799 he relinquished the rectorship of the church at Middletown, where he had been since 1764.

This did not involve a change of residence necessarily, but the bishop did remove to Cheshire. Let his son give the reason therefor. He says:—"The Episcopal Academy of Connecticut having been established at Cheshire in 1796, and the Rev. John Bowden appointed its principal, Bishop Jarvis determined in 1798, to place his son under the care of so able an instructor. But his heart and that of his wife were so bound up in this child of their old age, that the event of sending him for the first time from home led to their removal, in the following year, from Middletown to Cheshire."¹²

This son was the Rev. Dr. Samuel Farmar Jarvis,¹³ the distinguished scholar and author. The bishop built for himself a house on Cheshire street, which is still standing in good repair, and as Dr. E. E. Beardsley says:—"The village so beautiful and attractive by nature became, for a time, the general centre of diocesan interests."

At this early stage the diocese had no "palace," no house for the bishop, that is, and so he was free to live where he chose. His wife having died, and Dr. Bowden having resigned from the academy, in 1803 the bishop determined to remove to New Haven, and place his son in Yale College, from which he graduated in 1805. In New Haven the bishop lived in what is now the Graduates Club, 155 Elm St., remodeled and much enlarged, but still in the main the "Episcopal Palace" of 1803.

There was little to disturb the quiet routine of episcopal duties. It is true that the "Church of Connecticut was despised by her adversaries as a feeble flock," but it was slowly recovering from the shock of the Revolution, and more and more causing those adversaries to regard it, though reluctantly, perhaps, with some respect. It was a force to be reckoned with.

¹¹*Journal of 1794*, p. 8, reprint.

¹²*The Evergreen*, Vol. III, 1846, p. 175.

¹³(1786-1851).

Bishop Jarvis had one annoying experience in his administration, which was a source of anxiety and mortification to the end of his life, not because of anything for which he was responsible, but because of the persistent and pernicious activities of the person involved. It was the case of the notorious Ammi Rogers. But that is a dead issue, long since dead, and there is no thought of resuscitating it here. Rogers was a graduate of Yale College in the class of 1790. He sought holy orders in Connecticut, but he was too well known there, and he failed. But he went to New York, and on the strength of a certificate, irregularly obtained, was ordained by Bishop Provoost, June 20th, 1792.

There was no canon then bearing on letters dismissory, and here was the cause of much of the trouble that followed. Finally, the case got into the General Convention of 1804, and the House of Bishops, having heard it and considered it, gave their report in no uncertain language. Out of that convention, and this is the important thing, there came canons covering the questions here involved, which, had they existed at the time, might have mitigated the trouble, though Rogers was not particularly amenable to canons, and some of his adherents frankly declared that they were not under the authority of any bishop. This annoying matter disturbed the serenity of Bishop Jarvis's episcopate, but in no way reflected upon the bishop himself. Through it all he carried himself with dignity and patience, though, as his son says, "he was persecuted by the vindictive pertinacity of a degraded priest, almost to his dying day."

The Rev. Dr. Samuel Farmar Jarvis, in his sketch of his father, gives an interesting bit of history in relation to the General Convention of 1801, which, of course, does not appear in the minutes.¹⁴ The convention met at Trenton, N. J. There were present Bishops White, Claggett and Jarvis. In the words of Dr. Jarvis, Bishop White said to Bishop Jarvis, "Sir, it is your turn to preside"; to which he answered, "Sir, I can never preside over the bishop who consecrated me." Presumably the son got that from his father.

It was apparently in the mind of Dr. Jarvis that this was responsible for the action taken in that convention to determine the bishop who should preside. The convention of 1789, the first General Convention, general, that is, as including representatives from all the dioceses, adopted the rule that "The senior Bishop present shall be the President; seniority to be reckoned from the dates of the letters of consecration." That meant the presidency of Bishop Seabury.

At the convention of 1792 that rule was rescinded, and the following adopted instead thereof, viz.—"The office of President of this house

¹⁴*The Evergreen*, Vol. III, 1846, p. 176.

shall be held in rotation, beginning from the north; reference being had to the presidency of this house in the last Convention." That meant the presidency of Bishop Provoost.

In the convention of 1801 there were present in the upper House Bishops White, Claggett and Jarvis. The first entry in the minutes of that convention has to do with this matter of the bishop presiding. And this is the entry:—"Some doubt arising in regard to the meaning of the rule of this house in the year 1792, substituted in the place of the 1st rule of this house in 1789 [those rules have just been quoted]—*Resolved*, That until the same shall be considered and explained by this house, the Right Rev. Bishop White be requested to preside at the present session."

According to Dr. S. F. Jarvis, it was the refusal of Bishop Jarvis to preside over the bishop who consecrated him that gave rise to that resolution. As the senior bishop of the American Church, Bishop White continued as president until his death. Dr. Jarvis makes the further comment that in accordance with the ancient rule the bishop of the first see presided. Connecticut was the first see in the United States. "By the primitive rule, therefore, Bishop Seabury might have claimed the right of presiding as long as he lived; but this right he was content to waive for the sake of peace." That simple phrase, "for the sake of peace," has a deeper significance than anywhere appears in the minutes. Of course had that primitive rule been in operation in 1801, there would have been no question as to whose turn it was. Bishop Jarvis would have presided by right of his being the bishop of the first see.

We saw that Bishop Jarvis lost his wife while still residing in Cheshire. She died November 4th, 1801.¹⁵ Her death was a partial reason for his removal to New Haven. She was Miss Ann Farmar of New York, the niece of the wife of the Rev. Dr. Jeremiah Leaming, who figured so prominently in the early history of the Church in Connecticut. By her he had a son to whom was given the name Samuel Farmar. He lived only a few weeks. Some years after a second son was born, and to him also was given the name Samuel Farmar. He later became the eminent scholar and author.

Bishop Jarvis married a second time. His grandson tells us how it came about. He says:—"The Bishop lived in loneliness for five years, but in 1806 he went to visit a widow in her affliction. She was a woman of great beauty and loveliness of character, and in his efforts to console her, he found consolation for himself as well. They were married by Bishop Moore in Trinity Church, New York, surrendering independence on the Fourth of July." That is naively told, is it not?

¹⁵Buried in the Peck Vault, Trinity Church-yard, N. Y.

Letters in the possession of the writer bear out that characterisation of her, and testify to her devotion to the bishop. In a letter to Dr. Jarvis, written a few days after his father's death, she says:—

"O my Son how lost how lonely, every room I enter, and every door that opens I think I must see my dear Companion enter. Since the ill turn he had 3 years since I have scarcely had my eyes off him, but constantly at my side, every ready to advise and instruct. I have never been out of the house except to Church untill yesterday by the persuasion of Mary and Mr Davidson I rode as far as Mrs Cummings and she insisted on my spending the day how melancholy every thing look'd when I returned in the evening."

The bishop was a great sufferer from asthma towards the end of his life, and he needed and received the tender care of a sympathetic helpmeet.

The glamor that has gathered about the first bishop of Connecticut, Bishop Seabury, has tended to dim the glory that rightly belongs to the second bishop of Connecticut, Bishop Jarvis. Perhaps his story is not as spectacular, perhaps his episcopate was more of the routine type, perhaps his personality was not as aggressive and commanding, but Bishop Jarvis was a man of fine parts, a man of scholarly tastes and attainments, and served the Church with wisdom and dignity, loyal and devoted to its teachings.

If those early Churchmen were narrow, and bigoted, and unbending in their relations to other religious bodies, we must remember what they had to endure, the efforts made to thwart them and discredit their Church. It was more, of course, than just retaliation in kind. There was the profound conviction of the truth of their position, of the divine character of the Church as they understood it and taught it. They were Churchmen by tradition and training.

As an evidence of the firm and unyielding position of Bishop Jarvis, and not as an indication of narrowness of mind, the letter which follows is of interest, and may well find a place here. So far as is known it has never been published.¹⁶

"Cheshire July 13th 1801

Dear Sir

It is reported to me, that, Mr Griswold the congregational Minister of New Milford, is to preach, and pray, I suppose, in your church at Waterbury, on the last Sunday in this Month, and that you or Mr Jones, is to go, & officiate at New Milford,

¹⁶In the Ely Collection of Bishops' autographs, owned by Berkeley Divinity School.

on the same day, viz. the 26th instant. I have inquired of the Man, who spoke of it here, who tells me he heard it mentioned by several persons at Waterbury, Sunday before the last.— We here cannot believe it. It gives me some uneasiness however, fearing that possibly you have been prevailed with, to allow of such an irregularity, aggravated by the appearance of an exchange of Services. I say nothing of the situation in which M^r Griswold stands, but in every view, consider it improper. A presbyter of our church cannot consistently put his office upon a par, in exchange of the duties of it, with a congregational Teacher. He cannot give up his Church consecrated to the worship of God, according to the liturgy to an unauthorised person, who will, in that church, substitute in the place of the liturgy his own conceived devotions.

The consequences of such a procedure, are, too obvious to need a recital; they are subversive of the principles upon which we stand; & if I err not, will prove injurious to yourself & to the peace & harmony of your parish; it may lay a foundation for evils, which no after exertions of yours may be able to remove. You have here my sentiments, & I will flatter myself, that nothing of the above nature will take place, that the doctrine & rule of our church cannot justify—

Y^r Broth^r in Christ

Ab^m Bp Connect^t

Addressed to Rev^d Tillotson Bronson
Rector of St. John's Church
Waterbury"

Whether or not one approves of the bishop's attitude, one is bound to admit that he was fearless and straightforward in declaring it, for he was not writing to a youngster just out of the seminary, but to a mature man fifteen years in the ministry, already influential in the Church, and destined to be more influential in the affairs of the diocese. The letter is, perhaps, of no great importance in itself, but it does reveal the character of Bishop Jarvis, and shows that he possessed a real sense of his responsibility as chief pastor.

Interestingly enough, when the sermon was to be preached before the convention after the death of Bishop Jarvis, it was Dr. Bronson, then principal of the Episcopal Academy, and chairman of the standing committee, who was called upon to preach it. Did he have that letter in mind, perhaps on his desk before his eyes, when he sat down to write his sermon and wrote these words?—

"Thus settled in his faith, he listened not to novelties. He believed that whatever was new in Divinity, was, for that very reason, false. To improvements in human science, he was a friend: while he believed that God had long since revealed every

thing necessary for man to know, believe, and do, in order to obtain salvation. Hence, nothing new was to be expected in theology. This rendered him an undeviating advocate for primitive usage and discipline in the Church. This he was, to such a degree, as to be thought by some, too unyielding, too little disposed to accommodate the feelings of others. But those who knew him well, were convinced, it was the pure effect of principle, and a sense of duty . . . The truth was, he deliberated long and thoroughly, before he formed opinions; and when they were formed, they became principles of action, and were not readily changed . . . Such, in the fullest sense of the word was the character of Bishop Jarvis."

Now if this seems to suggest a static condition it must be remembered that we are dealing with a time when, theologically speaking, things were static, when the Scripture text, "the faith which was once delivered unto the saints,"¹⁷ would be wrongly quoted, as if to preclude the possibility of any further delivery. Bishop Jarvis was a fair type of those strong Churchmen, who, at the end of the colonial period and at the beginning of post-revolutionary days were called upon to guide the destinies of a bewildered, distressed and despised Church.

Properly to evaluate the episcopate of Bishop Jarvis one must take full stock of the conditions under which he served. The Church was "experiencing the trials of her deepest depression." It was a bitter transition period. And to add to all the trials which came in the administration of his office, there were the vexatious personal trials inflicted upon him by a recalcitrant priest, who never ceased to persecute him, and who, when he went to his grave, seemed to the clergyman who buried him, the "most forsaken man, both of God and man, he had ever seen." And he adds, "all people, those of the Ch. & those out of the Ch. seemed to conspire to stay away from the funeral."

But in spite of all adverse conditions, political and personal, Bishop Jarvis administered the affairs of the diocese with dignity and success. Statistics were not large, but then that was not the day of large statistics in the Church. He took part in the consecration of five bishops, Moore, Parker, Hobart, Griswold and Dehon, and he ordained thirty-three men to the diaconate, and advanced twenty-eight to the priesthood.

As a preacher we get the picture from Dr. Bronson who preached the commemorative sermon before the convention. He says:—"His discourses in the pulpit were marked by good sense and sound divinity, rather than fine conceits, or tricks of rhetoric. And as was his matter, so his manner of delivery—always grave, solemn, earnest, and frequently impressive, in a high degree." Gravity seems to have been a characteris-

¹⁷Jude 3rd verse.

tic noted by his contemporaries, for in a letter written as far back as 1787, the Rev. Ashbel Baldwin says "I have lately made a Tour to Guilford, all's well in that Quarter. I visited Bs Jarvise & Hubbard the gravity of the one & and the politeness of the other still continues."

Although abundantly qualified to produce a body of worth-while writings, yet the bishop left very little in print:—a discourse on the death of Bishop Seabury; a charge to his clergy, and an address or two, all in pamphlet form. It was not much, but enough to show the caliber of his mind, and to give assurance that it might have been much more if the cares of his office and the state of his health had permitted.

On Monday morning, May 3d, 1813, Bishop Jarvis died at his home in New Haven. He was buried in the new cemetery which the city had just opened. But that was not to be his final resting place. He was, of course, interested in the erection of the new Trinity Church on the Green, interested as the head of the diocese, and as a member of the parish, and it had been his hope to see it completed. But that hope was not to be realized. When, however, the church was completed in the following year, his body was removed from the cemetery, and placed under the altar of the church there to await the resurrection morn.

On the wall of the church his son erected a suitable tablet bearing an elaborate Latin inscription, "reciting his ecclesiastical dignity and position, and his own filial and affectionate sorrow."

Such is the story of the second bishop of Connecticut, ABRAHAM JARVIS.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE DIOCESE OF MICHIGAN

*By Charles O. Ford**

ANY historical sketch of the Diocese of Michigan naturally begins with Detroit, its see city, and St. Paul's Church, the mother parish, not only of the diocese but also of the Northwest Territory.

For practically a century after the founding of Detroit in 1701, the Roman Catholic Church was the only active Christian communion; little St. Ann's Church was the center of religious devotion, and services and instructions were given to the inhabitants and Indians in the French language. It is true that when the British Government took possession of Detroit in 1760, regimental chaplains of the Church of England ministered to the spiritual needs of the Protestants in the city, but that influence was exerted over the soldiers in the military post and apparently reached few if any of the civilian population. When regular chaplains were absent, the commandant or lay reader conducted religious services each Sunday morning.

From 1782 to 1788, several attempts to minister to the spiritual needs of Detroit's small population were unsuccessful because of the indifference and occasionally the antagonism of the people. In the early part of 1786, the Rev. Philip Toosey held occasional services and attempted to bring the Protestant families into some definite organization. The response to his ministrations was so meager that he became discouraged and stayed only a few months. Following Mr. Toosey, in that same year, the Rev. George Mitchell became a resident of Detroit at the suggestion of Alexander McKee, superintendent of the British Indian Department. In order to provide for his support, a subscription paper was drawn up and about fifty of the Protestant families subscribed 250 pounds. Apparently many of the pledges were never paid, for in 1788 Mr. Mitchell went East and did not return to Detroit.

From 1802 to 1823, more or less regular services of the Church were held in the Indian council house by the Rev. Richard Pollard, missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, at St. John's Church, Sandwich. The Indian council house is described as "neither capacious nor sumptuous nor especially ecclesiastical in its appoint-

*Secretary of the Diocese.

ments," but it was the cradle of the Church in the diocese of Michigan, and later (1824) was to be the temporary home of St. Paul's Church.

Mr. Pollard had come from England as a young man, and had held many political offices in Canada until, in 1802, at the age of fifty-two, he journeyed to Quebec, a distance of 1,000 miles, for ordination to the diaconate. He made the long, perilous journey again in 1804 for ordination to the priesthood. To Priest Pollard and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel the present Church in the diocese owes a great debt. Of him it is said, "he kept alive the interest of Churchmen in the services of the Church and was the bond of union between the colonial Church and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States." The records of the baptisms, marriages and burials performed by Mr. Pollard are still preserved in St. John's Church, Sandwich, and date from the year 1804.

In 1817, the Protestants of Detroit organized the Evangelic Society. It held its services in the Indian council house. It was served for four years by the Rev. John Montieth, a Presbyterian clergyman; then the name was changed to the First Protestant Society, and the Rev. A. W. Welton, a clergyman of the Episcopal Church, was secured as the spiritual leader. Mr. Welton came from Western New York, arriving in Detroit on December 1, 1821, after a thirty-three day journey during which he and his family were cast ashore on Lake Erie when the steamer "Walk-in-the-Water" was wrecked and beached near Buffalo. He united the duties of pastor of the First Protestant Society with those of teacher of a day school. Whether he used the liturgy of the Church is uncertain, but it is certain that he taught the catechism of the Episcopal Church. Mr. Welton's ministry was a brief one; he died on September 1, 1822. The early records of Detroit indicate that during the period from 1817 to 1824 the Episcopal families supported the Society and attended its services.

The reward for Priest Pollard's devotion to and sacrifice for the Episcopal Church people of Detroit came in July, 1824, when the Board of Foreign and Domestic Missions sent the Rev. Richard Cadle to the city. He gathered together the small group of Church families and on the evening of November 22, 1824, in the little Indian Council House, the foundation of the Church in Michigan was laid by the formation of St. Paul's Church. It was a small group, but it made up in devotion and zeal what it lacked in numbers. In it were many leaders in Detroit's civic life. Its first vestry was composed of Samuel Perkins, Levi Brown, John Biddle, James Abbott, Henry Chipman, Andrew G. Whithey, John Garland, Jonathan Kearsley, and Jeremiah Moors. During the three years St. Paul's worshipped in the council house, there

was ever before the eyes of its members the vision of the house of worship it would have some day. There was little money, but great devotion, loyalty and determination to grow and serve. In 1825, the parish received its territorial charter under the title of the Rector, Wardens and Vestrymen of St. Paul's Church. In 1826, Henry M. Campbell, a young layman in whose home the Welton family had been sheltered when taken from the wreck of the "Walk-in-the-Water," came from Buffalo to Detroit, and to St. Paul's Church, where, one year later, he was elected senior warden. For fifteen years Mr. Campbell served the parish in that capacity, and his vigorous leadership, wise counsel and generosity played an important part in the growth of St. Paul's.

In 1825 the First Protestant Society was re-named The Presbyterian Church, and was given a grant of land on Woodward Avenue near Congress Street for the erection of a building thereon. Inasmuch as several members of St. Paul's Church had been members of the First Protestant Society, they felt that a portion of this land grant should be given to their parish for its church site. There seems to have been no objection on the part of the Presbyterians to this claim, but, unfortunately, their church had been erected in the center of the property. Eventually the question was amicably settled by the Episcopalians paying the cost of moving the Presbyterian Church to one side of the grant so that there would be room for both edifices on the same property.

The church site problem having been solved satisfactorily, the little congregation tackled the building problem. Mrs. Margareta Bradish collected some money from friends in the East; Judge Abbott, Major Biddle and others made generous contributions, but the total was far less than the sum needed. Then it was that Judge Campbell came forward with a contribution of \$1,500,—one-third of the cost of the building,—and the church building was assured. On August 10, 1827, the Right Reverend John Henry Hobart, D. D., bishop of the state of New York, laid the cornerstone. On August 12, Bishop Hobart preached in the capitol (then located in Detroit), and held Detroit's first confirmation service. The diocese of Michigan is greatly indebted to Bishop Hobart, who returned to Detroit on August 24, 1828, to consecrate St. Paul's Church, and to Bishop McIlvaine of Ohio, for the services they rendered during the early days of its history.

Families began to come into the new territory, and towns and villages were coming into being. Our Church was small numerically, but zealous in its missionary spirit. The clergy and lay people of St. Paul's did yeoman service in extending the Church's influence beyond

the narrow confines of Detroit. By 1832, six new churches had been established; St. Andrew's, Ann Arbor (1827); St. John's, Troy (1829); St. Luke's, Ypsilanti, and St. Peter's, Tecumseh (1832); one at Green Bay (now Wisconsin); Trinity, Monroe (1831); and one at Grand Rapids, now the see city of the diocese of Western Michigan. The Green Bay church was an Indian mission, ministered to by the Rev. Mr. Cadle, the first rector of St. Paul's, Detroit.

In 1832, St. Paul's Parish was eight years old; it had three worthy sister parishes in Ann Arbor, Ypsilanti and Monroe, and away off in the forest a new parish organization was soon to be effected,—St. Peter's, Tecumseh. There were three clergymen and about fifty communicants; just a struggling little mission, according to to-day's standards. Surely the time was ripe to organize a diocese and ask that it be admitted into union with the General Convention. The vestry of St. Paul's took the initiative on August 5, 1832. It appointed a committee to consider the expediency of forming a diocese. The committee reported favorably, invitations were sent to the clergy and laymen of the other parishes in the territory, and on September 8 the primary convention was held in St. Paul's Church. The Rev. Silas C. Freeman was elected president of the convention, Elon Farnsworth its secretary, the Rev. Messrs. Bury, O'Brien and Freeman, Messrs. Campbell, Trowbridge, Whiting and Allen as the standing committee, and Bury, Cadle, Freeman, O'Brien, Whiting, Miller, Farnsworth and Whipple as delegates to the General Convention to be held in October, 1832.

At its first meeting on April 19, 1833, the standing committee took measures to clear the Church from the prevailing charge of "collusion with the heresy of Universalism"; to secure thorough and conscientious preparation for confirmation, and to place the diocese under the charge of the newly-elected bishop of Ohio, Bishop McIlvaine. Bishop McIlvaine's first and only visit for confirmation to the new diocese began on Saturday, April 19, 1834, with the institution of the Rev. Addison Searle as rector of St. Paul's Church, Detroit; continued on Sunday with confirmation in St. Paul's. Bishop McIlvaine had planned a series of visitations, but apparently the fatigue and exposure of the trip to Troy (twenty miles from Detroit, over almost impassable roads) resulted in the bishop's indisposition, so that the visitations had to be cancelled. In May, 1834, Bishop McIlvaine consecrated Trinity Church, Monroe, and presided at the first annual convention. The following year, in St. Peter's Church, Tecumseh, the convention elected the Rev. Henry J. Whitehouse, D. D., of Rochester, New York, as the first bishop of Michigan. It was a happy and confident group which adjourned at the end of the second annual convention with the expectation

of meeting in June, 1836, with its own bishop to preside over the convention. However, they were doomed to disappointment: Dr. Whitehouse declined the election. The special convention in November, 1835, found itself, through lack of clergymen canonically resident, incompetent to elect a bishop. In this dilemma the convention turned to General Convention, requesting it to elect a bishop for the diocese "at as early a period as might be consistent with the convenience and the solemn importance of the duty." In conformity with this request the House of Bishops, late in 1835, elected the Rev. Samuel A. McCoskry, D. D., rector of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, Pa., and he was consecrated the first bishop of the diocese of Michigan on June 7, 1836. On the day of his arrival in Detroit, August 25, the vestry of St. Paul's Church elected him as rector of the parish. For thirty-six years St. Paul's paid the bishop's salary.

Bishop McCoskry was thirty-six years of age when he came to Detroit; tall, straight, handsome,—heartly in his handclasp, unflinching in his memory of individuals, beloved by the entire community. He was a wise and able leader; during his episcopate of forty-two years, the Church in Michigan grew at the rate of from seven to nine per cent per year. He had a tremendous field to cover,—the entire state of Michigan, including the Upper Peninsula, and a portion of Wisconsin. It was a virgin field with wonderful possibilities and opportunities which challenged a man with the vigor, intellect and devotion of Bishop McCoskry, but it was also a task which demanded unbounded physical strength and endurance. And, in addition, he was the rector of an important and growing parish. He took a great interest in the physical, moral and spiritual welfare of the Indians in his diocese, visiting them annually and also acting as advisor and friend, and as the representative of the Federal Government when difficulties arose between their tribes and the white settlers living near the reservations.

Bishop McCoskry came to Michigan at a time when fearful financial difficulties were about to afflict the country at large. Speculation was rife, the currency was inflated and dreams of the performance of miracles in the development of railroads, canals, etc., had seized the people. The bubble burst in 1837, and distress and failure continued until 1844. The new and feeble diocese almost succumbed in this economic storm and it was nearly ten years before any considerable addition was made to the number of clergy. Nevertheless, during that period five new parishes were formed: Zion (now All Saints'), Pontiac; Christ Church, Adrian; St. James', Dexter; Grace Church, Jonesville, and St. Paul's, Jackson.

As the economic storm abated, there was unrest in St. Paul's

Parish. The city was growing and some of the leaders of the parish felt that the church building was too small. First there was a proposition to enlarge it, and then came another and bolder proposition,—to build a new church. When this plan failed, relief was obtained by the organization of Christ Church. Led by Charles C. Trowbridge, one of the most notable laymen in the history of the diocese, a portion of the congregation withdrew from St. Paul's and formed in 1846, on its present site on Jefferson Avenue, one of the historic parishes of the midwest,—Christ Church. Four of its twelve rectors and one assistant have entered the House of Bishops. Its clergy and laymen and women have been prominent in the life of the diocese and the city; several of its laymen have served the nation in positions of eminence, as members of presidents' cabinets and ambassadors to foreign countries.

There was a slow but steady growth. In 1849, Mrs. John Anderson and her sister, Charlotte Ann Taylor, left their estate to the diocese for the erection and endowment of Mariner's Church near the Detroit riverfront, and for many years the congregations were composed largely of sailors and their families. Today Mariners' Church is the home of the Detroit Episcopal City Mission and the center of a very important and successful Christian social relations program.

A neat and commodious building was erected for colored people, known as St. Matthew's Mission, today one of the strong parishes in our American Church for the Negro race. Parishes were organized at Flint, Saginaw, Bay City, Port Huron and the "Thumb" district. At this time, 1850, there were 36 clergymen, 33 parishes and missions, and fifteen hundred communicants in the diocese.

In 1858, St. Paul's Parish again cheerfully gave up a portion of its congregation to extend the Church's influence in Detroit. This time the leader was Henry Porter Baldwin, senior warden, later governor of the state of Michigan. A site was purchased as Woodward Avenue and High Street near the business center of the city, and a chapel and rectory were erected. For over eighty years St. John's Church has been making its contribution to the life of the community, the city, the diocese and the Church at large. Its missionary spirit has been constant and far-reaching. It has furnished five bishops, and missionaries in many of our foreign and domestic fields.

The diocesan convention of 1861 celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the consecration of Bishop McCoskry. The number of parishes had grown from four in 1832, when the diocese was organized, to 60 parishes and missions, twelve of them located in what is now the diocese of Western Michigan. There were fifty-eight clergymen, 3,079 communicants, four thousand Church School teachers and scholars, and

contributions in 1860 had amounted to \$27,260, of which \$1,582 was contributed for diocesan missions and \$672 for the work of the general Church. The diocese of Michigan has during its lifetime made many contributions to the personnel in the foreign and domestic missionary fields of the Church. The first volunteer was the Rev. Phineas T. Spalding, who was baptized, confirmed and ordained in Michigan, and died in 1850 at his post as a missionary in China. The beloved Bishop Rowe of Alaska served in the diocese as rector of St. James' Church, Sault Ste. Marie, for thirteen years, and was elected bishop of the missionary district of Alaska the year (1895) that the Upper Peninsula was set apart as the missionary district of Marquette.

The Church in Michigan was still in the pioneer stage, feeling its way as it went, meeting with success in some ventures, failure in others. The Episcopal Fund, once amounting to \$8,000, had been lost during the depression of 1837-44; a well-meant effort to establish a diocesan paper had failed, and several attempts to establish educational institutions had come to naught. Through the untiring effort of the Rev. Dr. Francis A. Cummings, a charter was obtained for a Church college, to be called St. Mark's and located in Grand Rapids. It was opened with 190 pupils in attendance, but the effort was in advance of the needs and ability of the Church, and was necessarily abandoned. Church schools at Jackson, Marshall and Fenton were established only to be closed after short and hazardous existence.

But these failures were offset by successful ventures in other fields of Christian endeavor. As early as 1846 the diocese began its program of Christian social service which has been a feature of our diocesan life for almost a century. It started with the erection of Mariners' Church and St. Matthew's Chapel for colored people. In 1861 a little group in St. Paul's Church, Detroit, formed an association which resulted in the formation of St. Luke's Hospital and Church Home. Mrs. H. L. Andrews gave her home on Lafayette Avenue and acted as matron. The venture was successful from its inception. The first gift of \$1,000 by Theodore H. Eaton has been added to over the years, so that today St. Luke's Home in Highland Park, in a commodious, modern building, is a substantially endowed institution ministering to some 90 aged people.

Under the inspiring leadership of C. C. Trowbridge, Governor Baldwin and Theodore H. Eaton, the Episcopal Fund was revived and soon amounted to \$80,000. The raising of such an endowment fund provided an income sufficient to pay the salary of Bishop McCoskry, permitting him to resign as rector of St. Paul's Church and devote his entire time to the administration of the diocese.

During Bishop McCoskry's episcopate there was started the Aged and Infirm Clergy Fund, which for fifty years, until the inauguration of the Church Pension Fund in 1917, provided a small pension for the superannuated clergy of the diocese, and the widows and orphans of deceased clergy.

The Church in Michigan was growing and expanding steadily. There were many parishes and missions in the western part of the state and several in the Upper Peninsula. The diocese was too large for one man to administer efficiently. In 1862, in order to meet the need for closer supervision, the bishop and convention had divided it into five missionary convocations (each having one of its leading clergymen as the dean),—the Eastern, Southern, Western, Northern and Lake Superior Convocations. This plan was helpful but it failed to solve the problem. In 1872 a committee of diocesan convention, appointed in 1871, recommended that steps be taken to divide the diocese. Two years later, in 1874, thirty-three counties in the western part of the state were set apart, to be erected as a new diocese when and if General Convention should grant the request. Approval of General Convention was given, and on February 24, 1875, in St. Mark's Church, Grand Rapids, the Rev. George DeNormandie Gillespie, rector of St. Andrew's Church, Ann Arbor, was consecrated bishop of the new diocese of Western Michigan.

The long episcopate of Bishop McCoskry was drawing to a close. For forty-two years he had carried the burden of administering a large diocese in a difficult, virgin field. For several years he had suffered from an illness which made traveling difficult and painful. In 1878 he resigned as bishop of the diocese and removed to the East, where he died in 1886.

So ends the first era of diocesan history. More than fifty years had passed since the mother parish was organized in the old Detroit Indian council house; almost half a century had elapsed since the diocese had been organized with but six clergymen in the entire Territory and a meager handful of communicants; forty-two years since the first bishop had been consecrated. The diocese had grown from less than a dozen clergy in 1836 to its necessary division in 1875. During this first episcopate, the Church in Michigan grew at the rate of seven per cent each year despite the difficulties of episcopal administration, with visitations made on horseback, in boats and canoes, by stage and occasionally on foot. We cannot overlook the arduous frontier work—trips to Green Bay in the interest of the spiritual and physical welfare of the Indians; journeys into the Upper Peninsula for services and visitations.

Of course there were elements of weakness: the Church had not kept pace with the tremendous development of the state of Michigan; early poverty and remoteness from the large centers of Church life, the scarcity of clergy, financial depressions, occasional loss,—by the unexpected decline of towns and decrease of population,—of parishes auspiciously begun—all these were hindering features in the growth of the diocese. Nevertheless, the Church had laid broad and strong foundations in these first forty-two years upon which since that time there has been builded one of the strongest dioceses of the American Church.

The editor's request was for "the beginnings of the Church in Michigan" and we might fairly consider that "the beginnings" would cover the period from the first services in the old Indian council house to the close of the first episcopate in 1878. Since that time, the diocese of Michigan has had five bishops. Each one seems to have been particularly fitted for the era in which he served. The history of the diocese up to the present time must necessarily be sketched in broad, sweeping strokes, touching only the salient features of each separate episcopate.

The Right Reverend Samuel Smith Harris, D. D., second bishop of Michigan, was a man eminently fitted to carry on the missionary program to which Bishop McCoskry had devoted so much of his energy and attention. In his first episcopal address, he sounded the keynote of missionary extension which should provide services and buildings for our Church people everywhere in the diocese. He was his own general missionary; he used lay readers to hold services in small towns and villages, and with the generous assistance of the Church Association of Michigan he was able to provide modest houses of worship for many of these new congregations. During the eight years of his episcopate, forty-four parishes and missions were established.

Bishop Harris was also tremendously interested in the spiritual and religious life of the students in the state university at Ann Arbor. Through his efforts there was erected and endowed a building, first called "Hobart Hall," later renamed "Harris Hall," which for more than fifty years has been the center of the religious life of the youth of our Church who have been students at the University of Michigan. Bishop Harris died suddenly in England, in July, 1888, while attending the sessions of the Lambeth Conference.

The period covering the third episcopate, that of the Right Reverend Thomas Frederick Davies, was as different from the preceding fifty years as Bishop Davies, himself, was different from the two men who had gone before him. The large and steady stream of pioneering settlers had almost ceased to flow into the state. Detroit was a quiet, beautiful

and comfortable city of some 200,000 inhabitants. Flint, Lansing and other industrial centers of the present day were comparatively small towns. For a time the aggressiveness which had carved a state out of the wilderness had given way to a slower, easier, more comfortable way of life.

Into this life Bishop Davies fitted perfectly and happily, to the satisfaction of his clergy and his people. By spirit and desire disposed to deliberate thought and quiet ways, he lived and worked with the singular power of a fully-stored mind, far-seeing judgment and a Christ-like character. He administered his diocese wisely and sympathetically, but much of the supervision of the mission field was left to the general missionary, the Rev. Dr. William S. Sayres, a former missionary in China.

During Bishop Davies' episcopate a number of new missions were organized. Under the leadership of the bishop, steps were taken to divide the diocese once again. A petition was addressed to General Convention asking that it consider the advisability of setting off the Upper Peninsula as a separate jurisdiction.

In 1895 General Convention set apart the Upper Peninsula as the missionary district of Marquette, and elected the Rev. Gershon Mott Williams, who had served the district for four years as archdeacon, as the first bishop.

Two years before the close of Bishop Davies' episcopate, the convention passed a canon on retiring allowances, whereby, upon the recommendation of the bishop, any clergyman canonically resident in the diocese could retire on a pension of \$500 per year at the age of sixty-five.

Bishop Davies died suddenly on November 19, 1905, just prior to the convening of the seventy-second annual convention.

The convention's choice of a successor to Bishop Davies was the Very Reverend Charles David Williams, D. D., then dean of Trinity Cathedral in Cleveland, Ohio. Dean Williams was chosen as the fourth bishop of Michigan because of his ideas for the practical social application of Christianity, and his ability to interpret religion in terms of his day. And there was then a tremendous field in Michigan for such practical interpretation of the Gospel. The complacent, easy-going city of Detroit, indeed practically the entire state of Michigan, was entering upon an industrial expansion which was soon to make it one of the great manufacturing centers of the world. Peaceful Detroit became almost overnight dynamic Detroit; the population of Flint, Lansing, Pontiac and other cities grew by leaps and bounds. There came into Michigan a tremendous influx of people representing nearly every race,

creed and color. The task of assimilation that must be met by the Church as well as by civic authorities was tremendous. There was need for new equipment for parish activities; for a carefully devised program of religious education, Christian social service and missionary expansion. City limits were extended and new residential districts developed, offering new fields for the expansion of the Church. Clergy and lay people responded nobly and generously to the bishop's appeal for assistance in meeting these ever increasing demands. The arch-deaconry system, dividing the diocese into three sections for missionary administration was the first step. Social service programs were developed in various parishes in the larger cities. An active Church Club of five hundred members was organized. It financed a downtown office and a secretary for the bishop, purchased an episcopal residence, raised a reinforcement fund of \$200,000 which was used to purchase sites for new missions and provide loans for alterations and additions to churches and parish houses. It assisted the bishop in the development of a committee for foreign born service, to help in the task of assimilating immigrants, particularly those of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Mariners' Church was made the social service center from which the Church might reach the unchurched, the submerged and neglected people. As the years have passed, and with the hearty support and co-operation of Bishop Williams' successors, this work has developed to the point where it is now administered by a corporation,—the Detroit Episcopal City Mission Society,—and includes also Mariners' Inn for men, Page House for working women, and Faber House, a home for problem boys, besides serving in all of the city and county institutions. A comprehensive program for work with boys, with a full time director, was another project of the Church Club.

During Bishop Williams' episcopate, the diocese had the honor of entertaining the General Convention which launched the Nation Wide Campaign and developed the present administrative organization, the National Council and its several departments. Following the recommendation of General Convention the diocese in 1920 adopted a canon providing for an executive council and departments corresponding to those of the general Church. In the closing years of Bishop Williams' episcopate, there started an unprecedented increase of building throughout the diocese; new churches, parish houses, rectories. During the period from 1920 to 1930, the value of church property rose from \$4,700,000 to \$13,700,000. This great building program adequately equipped the diocese to carry on its work in every community, but it created a financial problem which became acute with the depression which began in 1932.

Bishop Williams died suddenly on the evening of Ash Wednesday, February 14, 1923. In the third year of his episcopate he had accepted St. Paul's Church as the cathedral church of the diocese, and in the crypt which had been prepared when the cathedral building was erected in 1908, his body was laid to rest on February 19th.

The Right Reverend Herman Page, D. D., who for nine years had been the bishop of the missionary district of Spokane (Washington), succeeded Bishop Williams in January, 1924. He was especially interested in religious education, in the extension of the mission field of the diocese, and in social service. He introduced the policy of using women workers in the mission field under the direction of the archdeacon. In 1928, under the bishop's leadership, a centennial fund of \$700,000 was raised. Sixty-five per cent of the income from this fund is used to aid in furnishing equipment in the nature of churches, parish houses and rectories for small parishes and missions. The remaining thirty-five per cent of the income from this fund is used for the support of the episcopate, to supplement the income for Harris Hall, Ann Arbor, and for special work in the diocese under the direction of the bishop.

During the latter part of Bishop Page's episcopate the economic depression with the resulting closing of the largest banks in the state and the long-continued period of industrial unemployment produced unusually difficult problems of administration. The necessary building programs in the diocese had resulted in an extremely heavy mortgage indebtedness in a great many parishes and missions. In 1933, the indebtedness of the entire diocese amounted to \$1,800,000. Under the leadership of Bishop Page, and later of Bishop Creighton, this indebtedness has been reduced to approximately \$600,000, and definite amortization programs have been undertaken, which, in a reasonable period of time, will free the diocese from its burden of debt.

In 1937 the Right Reverend Frank W. Creighton, D. D., S. T. D., then bishop suffragan of Long Island and formerly bishop of Mexico (1926-1933), was elected as the bishop coadjutor of Michigan. On January 1, 1940, Bishop Page resigned, and Bishop Creighton was installed in St. Paul's Cathedral as the sixth bishop of the diocese on January 31, 1940.

The history of a diocese covering a period of more than one hundred years cannot be adequately presented in one short article, nor can there be recorded the long list of devoted, self-sacrificing clergymen and laymen who made possible the growth of the Church in Michigan. The Church grows and expands because the faith of a small group of people, often of just one loyal, devoted man or woman, has had the

courage to take the religion of Jesus Christ and the services of His Church into a new community. Thus the Church in Michigan was established and made strong and influential.

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MICHAEL SOLOMON ALEXANDER: FIRST BISHOP OF OF THE CHURCH ENGLAND IN JERUSALEM

1841-1845

*By Charles T. Bridgeman**

ONE hundred years ago, November 7th, 1841, Michael Solomon Alexander, a priest of the Church of England who had been a convert from Judaism, was consecrated as the first bishop of the Church of England in Jerusalem. The anniversary has been duly observed both in Jerusalem and in London. The occasion served not merely to honour one of the important missionary pioneers of the past century but also to recall the subsequent history of the unique Jerusalem bishopric.

In Jerusalem it being impossible to observe the exact day, a service in honour of Bishop Alexander's memory was held at the Collegiate Church of St. George the Martyr (the Anglican cathedral) on November 9th, 1941; and on November 23rd, being the anniversary of the bishop's untimely death in 1845, a service was held in the cemetery on Mount Zion where with those of two other bishops, Gobat and Barclay, his body lies buried. A third observance was on January 21st, 1942, at Christ Church, within the walls of the ancient city of Jerusalem, to which he came as bishop on that day in 1842. On three days in Advent a series of lectures on the history of the bishopric was given in Jerusalem by Dr. F. W. G. Masterman, one of the veteran missionary doctors in the Holy Land, and a distinguished archaeologist. The bishopric has published a small handbook of the history and work of the bishopric in memory of Bishop Alexander's anniversary.

The inception of the Anglican bishopric in Jerusalem is one of the more interesting pages of missionary history. The Holy Land was then part of the old Ottoman Empire and had suffered more than other provinces from slackness and misrule. Jerusalem had degenerated into a ruinous provincial town. Yet its age-old religious history still made it the goal of pilgrims of all three great monotheistic faiths, Christianity, Judaism and Islam, and it held a special charm for devout people the world over. Jews trickled back from their ghettos in Poland and Russia, hoping to die in the Holy City. Christian pilgrims came up every year for the feasts, and missionary explorers pondered what could be done to win it for Christ.

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The missionary revival in England, America and Germany had directed men's minds towards the vast unevangelized areas of the Ottoman Empire and Persia. In 1815 the Church Missionary Society established itself at Malta, which being a British possession was a safe centre, whence it sent emissaries to Egypt and Abyssinia, and explorers to the Lebanon Mountains. The London Jews' Society, (now re-named the Church Missions to Jews), which had been founded in 1809, investigated the possibilities of work in Jerusalem as early as 1820, and in 1824 sent out its first medical missionary. American Protestants were already at work in various parts of the Ottoman Empire. The Episcopal Church in America in 1829-30 sent Robertson and Hill on an educational mission to the liberated Greeks, strictly enjoining them to refrain from proselytism amongst the Orthodox. And six years later Horatio Southgate was sent by the American Church to explore Turkey and Persia. He was impressed by the need for helping the remnants of the old Eastern Churches groaning under Moslem Turkish rule but disapproved of the crude proselytism of the American Protestant missionaries and recommended a sympathetic educational mission. In 1840 he was sent again to Constantinople, and in 1844 was consecrated bishop with that title, but resigned in 1850.

Meanwhile the political atmosphere was changing. Napoleon had opened up the East. Mohammad Ali, the Sultan's pasha in Egypt, rebelled and sought to modernize his province. His conquest of Palestine and Syria through his vigorous son Ibrahim Pasha gave promise of a new regime while it also aroused the latent jealousies of Russia, France, Britain and Austria, all equally watching the disintegration of the Ottoman realm with varying sympathies. The defeat of Mohammad Ali in 1840 by the Sultan with Britain's aid and the sympathetic support of the other Western powers seemed a ripe time to do something to help the Holy Land and Christians in general.

The two basic problems were: to restore the Holy Land to Christian protection; and to secure some sort of status for the Western Protestant missionaries, who unlike the Orthodox (protected by Russia) and the Roman Catholics (protected by France) had no one to help and no official recognition as a community.

The prime mover was King Frederick William IV of Prussia, a deeply religious man, eager for the re-union of Christendom, and keen on missionary work. He first tried to secure the agreement of the powers and the Sultan to make of Palestine an enclave under the protection of the European nations. This failed. He then addressed himself to the second: In 1841 he sent his Chevalier Bunsen as a special envoy to Queen Victoria and the archbishop of Canterbury with the pro-

posal that a bishopric of the Church of England should be established in Jerusalem to which all Protestants who so desired might join themselves; and offered to give half the endowment necessary. His argument was that Britain was already at work in the Holy Land, her prestige at the Sublime Porte was high, and the creating of a bishopric would give the Protestants the kind of ecclesiastical organization with which the Turks were in the habit of dealing.

The novel proposal met with a mixed reception. The controversy over the Oxford Movement was at its height. The suggestion of any alliance in Jerusalem between the Church of England and the non-Episcopal and Lutheran Evangelical Church of Prussia was obnoxious to many. Newman is said to have thought it would be evidence that the Church of England had lost her Catholic character if she accepted. However the scheme went through, but in a manner which conserved the basic character of the historic episcopate. The bishop was always to be in Anglican orders, though he need not be a British subject; he was to be subject to the archbishop of Canterbury as his metropolitan, and as far as possible conform to the canons of the Church of England in his internal diocesan affairs; any Protestant clergy who desired to come under his protection were to seek Anglican ordination, and their congregations were to seek confirmation at the hands of the bishop; and while they might use a German prayer book it was to be "drawn from ancient sources" and approved by the archbishop of Canterbury. The nomination was to lie alternately with the British and Prussian Crowns, but the archbishop of Canterbury was to have an absolute *veto* over the Prussian nominee. The two countries were to share equally in providing the endowment. The objection that the sending of an Anglican bishop to Jerusalem would be an intrusion into the territorial jurisdiction of the Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem was met by recommending the bishop to avoid interference in the jurisdictions of the other ecclesiastical heads in Jerusalem, to show them all reverence and honour, and to take as his special sphere of work the evangelizing of non-Christians. The fact that there were already in Jerusalem representatives of many other branches of the Catholic Church, Armenian, Latin, Coptic, Syrian and Abyssinian, suggested that it was only natural the Anglican Church as well should be represented.

The choice of Michael Solomon Alexander to be the first bishop in the new jurisdiction was not only dramatic but sound. The idea of sending a "Hebrew of the Hebrews" to labour where St. James, the Lord's brother, had been the first bishop, and to set forward especially the Church's mission to the Jews, made an instant appeal to the imagination of everyone. Alexander was moreover a man of mature judg-

ment, a humble and devout Christian, a distinguished scholar. He had been born of Jewish parents in the Grand Duchy of Posen in 1799, and after receiving training as a rabbi had gone to England where he taught Talmudical subjects and served as a rabbi. Hitherto he had known next to nothing of Christianity. He came into possession of a New Testament and was deeply impressed with its truth. Through giving Hebrew lessons to a priest in Plymouth he gained more intimate knowledge of the Faith, and began that inevitable period of struggle which every pilgrim of the Faith must undergo. Eventually he made the hard decision and was baptized in Plymouth in 1825. His wife, an English Jewess, had meanwhile unknown to her husband become a secret believer and now was also baptized. Two years later Alexander was ordained deacon and priest in Dublin, and after a brief curacy began fourteen years' work amongst his own people as an agent for the L. J. S.* During the later years of this service he was also professor of Hebrew and Rabbinical Literature in King's College, London.

The consecration of Alexander took place on Sunday, November 7th, 1841, in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, London. The archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Howley, was assisted by the bishops of London, Rochester and New Zealand. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. M'Caul, secretary of the L. J. S. The variety of offices and nations represented was striking. Chevalier Bunsen, as representative of the King of Prussia; Sir Stratford Canning, H. M. Ambassador Extraordinary to the Porte; Baron Schleinitz, Prussian Chargé d' Affaires; Lord Ashley; the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, and many other distinguished persons.

Exactly a month later, December 7th, the young bishop, his wife, Dr. Macgowan, the newly appointed medical missionary for Jerusalem, the Rev. F. C. and Mrs. Ewald, and the Rev. George Williams, the bishop's chaplain, who was to write the classic work "The Holy City," set sail from Portsmouth on H. M. S. *Devastation* for the Holy Land. The provision of this newly built steam frigate to carry the new bishop to his field of work lent the occasion the proper prestige, but the unfortunate name of the vessel was with difficulty subject to more happy allegorizing by the passengers! Travel from Britain to the eastern Mediterranean in those days was theoretically quick but in fact depended upon the uncertainties of connections. Even the new steam frigate which should have done the journey in twenty-one days sailing took six weeks, and it was not till the third week in January that the vessel dropped anchor off Beirut. Here the bishop was to take on board the British consul general, Col. Rose, who was to accompany him and

*London Jews' Society, now renamed "Church Missions to Jews" (C. M. J.).

introduce him to the Turkish authorities in Jerusalem. The bishop's first episcopal act in his new jurisdiction was to administer the rite of confirmation to three young Englishmen at Beirut.

A day's steaming brought the party to Jaffa on January 20th. Here the representative of the L. J. S. in Jerusalem, the Rev. J. Nicholayson, a Dane, who came to Jerusalem in 1833, had waited some two weeks for the arrival of the bishop but had been compelled to return to Jerusalem. Others were on hand to welcome the bishop and his party. With an escort from the governor of Jaffa, the party took the road to Ramleh where the night was spent. The next day a cavalcade of mounted travellers and guards almost a hundred in number set off for the long ride across the plains and up the rocky path through the barren gorges to the Holy City. Where today the traveller mounts rapidly on an excellent motor road the bishop and his party, like the thousands of pilgrims throughout the ages, had to toil slowly along a rough track that became ever more precipitous. The armed guard was no matter of form but a necessity to protect the travellers from bands of marauders or from the attacks even of bears which at that time sometimes appeared in the wooded slopes of the Wadi-al Ward. The January day in 1841 was one of threatening clouds and cold damp winds, but the rain fortunately held off.

At Jerusalem the Moslem population was making ready to celebrate the feast of Corban Bairam. The governor, an aged Turk, nonetheless waited a long time in the cold at Jaffa gate to receive the new Christian bishop. When the arrival was delayed and the night chill drove him home, he left a representative to do the honours. Meanwhile an armed guard went out to welcome the party and escort it with a band of native musicians playing on the discordant instruments of the East. Just before sundown, when the gates of the city had to be shut for the night, the long cavalcade appeared in sight. A guard stood at attention at the Jaffa Gate as the bishop came in and just at that moment the Bairam sunset gun on the hoary Tower of David (really Herodian in its present form) thundered forth.

The weary party was taken by the Rev. Mr. Nicholayson, who had ridden forth to meet the party at Ramleh, to his house at Christ Church compound. Here was the single small nucleus of the bishop's future work, apart from an English congregation in Egypt at Alexandria and the interrupted work of Samuel Gobat (the next bishop) in Abyssinia. For we must remember that the bishop's jurisdiction included Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Chaldea. The rain that had stayed all day fell in a torrent as the bishop's party entered the house: a happy omen in this dry land for the inception of any work. The bishop's own

house overlooking the Haman er-Batrak (Patriarch's Bath; incorrectly called Hezekiah's Pool), a large open reservoir in the centre of the city, was not yet ready for him.

The arrival of a new resident, and still more of a new bishop, is a time for all sorts of formal calls on the dignitaries in an Eastern town. The first call was the next day, Saturday, on the Turkish governor, Tahir Pasha, in great state: the British consul general accompanied the bishop, who was attended by his chaplain, Mr. Williams and Mr. Nicholayson, and under escort of the consul general's guard. A guard of janissaries met them at the governorate and saw them off after a very friendly visit. A bishop came from the Armenian patriarch to call on Bishop Alexander, but the ecclesiastical visits were postponed for a day or two because Col. Rose and his party wanted first to make a visit to the Dead Sea. When they returned, the first visits were paid on the bishop at the Orthodox Patriarchate and on the Armenian Patriarch. They were friendly but seemed a little puzzled as to what the new bishop might expect to do, being all too familiar with Western efforts at proselytism. However when the bishop presented to them letters from the archbishop of Canterbury reassuring them and saying that the new bishop was instructed to treat them with all reverence, not to interfere in their jurisdictions and to take as his special field of work the evangelization of non-Christians, they were much gratified.

The Jewish community was all agog. The coming of a Christian bishop of Jewish race produced a profound impression, and immediate impetus was given to the work amongst them, the more aided by the beneficent work of Dr. MacGowan. The fruits were seen in the increased number of inquirers and eventually the baptism of several rabbis along with numbers of others.

As yet the little community had to worship in the old Turkish house which with much difficulty Mr. Nicholayson had bought, the present Christ Church Hotel. Its location on ruins of Herod's palace near the Tower of David gave it the more historical interest. In this temporary Church room the bishop held his first ordinations, those of two German missionaries of the C. M. S.* in Egypt, who had come up to Jerusalem for the purpose. An English architect, Mr. Johns, who had been brought out to direct building operations had been digging vast pits in the accumulated rubbish of ages for the foundations of Christ Church, and on February 28th, 1842, the bishop laid the foundation stone at a depth of thirty-five feet. Unhappily delays were encountered, the Turkish Government stopped the work for lack of a firman, and

*Church Missionary Society (Anglican).

it was not till 1849, January 21, that Bishop Gobat, the next bishop was able to consecrate the new church.

The Jerusalem of Bishop Alexander's day was far other than it has since become. No houses existed outside the dilapidated Turkish walls. The gates were shut at night and the belated traveller was at the mercy of robbers unless, as might happen, a friend let down a rope from the wall and pulled him up when the guard was not watching. Inside, the ruins of noble buildings of every period from Herod onwards protruded their architectural members from the heaped up rubbish. Even the churches still in use were half in ruins. The huddled stone houses of a typical Eastern city pressed close upon the passerby in the narrow, ill-paved, dirty streets, but there were many open spaces overgrown with cactus and filled with the refuse of the city. At that time the four quarters, Christian, Armenian, Moslem and Jewish were clearly defined. In the Christian and Armenian quarters on the west side were dozens of monasteries, Greek for the most part, but also Latin, Syrian, Coptic, Abyssinian and Armenian, which served as the only hotels for travellers and pilgrims. The Moslem quarter at the northeast corner of the city and near the Haram esh-Sheriff or Temple area was the home of the governor and the sheikhs of the Mosque. In the southeast corner was the miserable Jewish quarter, the poorest and dirtiest of the four, into which in the past two hundred years, had come an increasing number of European Jews and a few Eastern ones to die in the Holy City. These were supported by alms sent from the towns of their origin, upon the understanding that they would pray for their villages at the western or Wailing Wall of the ruined Temple. Just what the population was is uncertain: the gross figure varies between ten and twenty thousand. The Orthodox Patriarch estimated his flock as less than 900, but this seems to others an underestimate, and with the other Christians may have brought the figure up to between one and two thousand. It is to be noted that the bulk of the Christians then lived in the villages, of which Jifna, now a tiny place, had more Christians than Bethlehem, Ramallah or Jerusalem. Jews and Moslems made up the vast majority of the population, in about equal numbers.

So neglected was the town that the Latin Patriarchs had not lived there since the collapse of the Crusades; and the Orthodox patriarchs generally lived in the greater comfort of Constantinople, leaving the care of the holy places and pilgrims to the titular bishops and monks. There were no schools, except one for a few boys in the Franciscan convent; no medical work except a dispensary of the same Franciscans, and refuge in the monasteries for sick travellers, who were tended by the unskilled monks as best they could.

Outside the town stony tracks fit only for horses and donkeys connected Jerusalem with Bethlehem and Hebron to the south, and Ramallah, Nablus, and Nazareth to the north. The ancient system of mulcting travellers still held: that is, if they failed to hire a guard from the village "protecting" the road, the villagers would send out their men to waylay and rob them, a still more costly proceeding. It was better to pay first than later.

The bishop and his co-workers had to start from the beginning in everything, and under most trying conditions. The medical work begun in 1824 had fallen into decay with the death of Dr. Dalton and lack of permanent successors. Mr. Nicholayson had come in 1833 and had begun evangelistic work amongst the Jews but was handicapped in many ways. Moreover much of his time was taken up with securing a home for the work and starting the erection of a church. However the prayer book had been translated into Hebrew in 1836, and regular services in that language maintained from 1837 onwards. The earthquake of 1834 and the war of 1840 made extra difficulties. Despite all these obstacles the first convert was made in 1838. The first arrival of Dr. Macgowan in 1840 was the beginning of his fruitful twenty years of medical work.

The arrival of Bishop Alexander was the sign for new steps forward. The first ordinations, on March 17th, 1842, were followed on October 9th by the confirmation of eight baptized Jews. In the same year the Hebrew College for Training Missionaries was started under the principalship of the Rev. George Williams, the bishop's chaplain. In 1843 there was great excitement in Jerusalem because three rabbis were under instruction for baptism, of whom two were eventually baptized. The opening of a Bible depot in 1844 was another forward step; and in the same year was baptized the Rev. J. M. Eppstein, long a capable worker amongst his own people in Baghdad, Smyrna and England.

Ill-health dogged the steps of the mission. Letter after letter to the London Jews' Society at home spoke of recurrent sickness due to the unhealthy conditions of life and inexperience of the climate. The bishop and his family suffered with the rest. His first summer had to be spent out of the city, part of the time as a guest of the Greek monks in the monastery of the Holy Cross, and part with Dr. Macgowan in his camp near Jifna. The strain on the young bishop's health was too great for him to continue long.

The end came suddenly in 1845. He was travelling by camel from Gaza to Egypt to visit the C. M. S. missionaries there and the congregation in Alexandria, when on November 23rd he was found dying in his tent. His chaplain, the Rev. W. D. Veitch, carried the bishop's

body on to Cairo, where he preached a funeral sermon, and then brought it back to Jerusalem for burial in the cemetery then located near the Moslem burying ground adjacent to the Birket Mamilla. After the consecration of the new English-German cemetery on Mount Zion in 1869, his body was removed thither, and there his monument may still be seen.

LATER HISTORY

Thus ended after so brief a time the episcopate of the first bishop. But Bishop Alexander had laid good foundations and created an interest in Jerusalem and the Holy Land which was not to be suffered to die. Time was to reveal both the weaknesses and the strength of the original foundation. The early mistakes have been rectified and today the work goes on encouragingly.

The subsequent history cannot here be given in detail. A concise *Handbook of the Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem* issued to celebrate Bishop Alexander's centenary provides a convenient summary.

Here we see how the work grew in numbers and breadth, until today it touches almost every phase of the complex life of the Holy Land, and the adjacent countries of Syria, Cyprus and Iraq.

Bishop Alexander's episcopate put the evangelization of Jews on a firm basis, and initiated a policy of friendship with the Eastern Churches in the Holy City. Upon his death it fell to the King of Prussia to nominate a successor. He turned to Samuel Gobat, a French-speaking Swiss missionary and deacon in Anglican Orders who had made a name for himself as a bold missionary explorer in Abyssinia and missionary educationalist as head of the C. M. S. College in Malta. He was consecrated in London in 1846 and served until his death in Jerusalem in 1879. Bishop Gobat was an excellent Arabic student, a keen missionary and a devout but somewhat narrow evangelical of a Continental type. He immediately started evangelistic work amongst the Arabs of Palestine, and, as it was impossible to work with the Moslems, this meant working with those who were already Christians of the Orthodox Church. His preconceptions led him to consider the ancient Church of the East as hopelessly corrupt and needing a radical reform based on Biblical truth. The distribution of Bibles and stationing catechists in important towns to explain them became so patently an attack on the Orthodox Church that it could not but result in a breach of friendship. When his proteges were excommunicated by the Orthodox patriarch he went the next step, which was to start Protestant congregations and provide clergy to supply sacraments, pleading that he could do no other in the circumstances.

He invited the Church Missionary Society to enter the field to help him, and began a wide system of elementary education up and down the country. Having close connections with the Continent and especially with the German Lutherans, Bishop Gobat found most of his missionaries there, a fact which introduced into the Church's work still more ideas and practices contrary to the true Anglican position. The result was not only the disregarding of the injunctions to cultivate friendly relations with the Eastern bishops and refrain from interference, which had been laid upon Bishop Alexander, but also the abandonment of the other original principle that non-Anglican clergy seeking to come under the bishop should receive Anglican orders; for the Continental clergy, chiefly Lutheran, declined to be re-ordained. This departure from the original foundation of the bishopric raised many misgivings in England although Archbishop Howley and his successor condoned it.

Two interesting developments were suggested at this time, but came to nothing. The King of Prussia tried to persuade the Evangelical Church of Prussia to accept bishops consecrated by the "Apostolic See of Jerusalem" so that the episcopate might be restored to it. The suggestion did not appeal to the Germans. Meanwhile Bishop Gobat outlined a plan for making Anglican Uniate of the proselytes from the Eastern Churches, allowing them to use reformed versions of their own liturgies and continue old customs. He apparently had in mind the Orthodox Arabs, Armenians (with whom he was also in contact) and possibly Abyssinians who had been his first love in missionary work. This also proved impracticable and never got beyond the paper stage, for which future generations may be thankful.

Despite the obvious defects of his long episcopate, it would be less than fair to forget the good work he did and the influence of his schools in setting forward education, and stimulating new movements in the Holy Land. He was a man of simple but unquestioned faith, hard working, and with a real love for souls. His limitations were largely those of his age and upbringing in Continental Protestantism.

Queen Victoria nominated Joseph Barclay, one time head of the London Jews' Society work in Jerusalem, to succeed Bishop Gobat. He was consecrated in 1879 but died in 1881. To have the Anglican bishopric again represented by some one from the British Isles (he was an Irishman) was hailed as opening a new era. The Eastern Church leaders had known him before and welcomed him in his new office, with expectation that friendly relations would again be restored. Bishop Barclay's brief term of office did not permit him to do more than survey the problems of the jurisdiction. He found that work amongst Jews had become sterile and needed reorganization, while most of the efforts

of the missionaries were spent in proselytism amongst those already Christian. While he himself had practically no funds with which to work, the C. M. S. and the L. J. S. who possessed means and personnel were being directed independently of him by committees in London. The co-operation with the Prussians was breaking down, as, with the rise of the German Empire, the well-supplied German missionary ventures were no longer willing to continue in subordination to an English bishop, and wished to break away.

Bishop Barclay had not been given time to solve these problems when his work ended in 1881. It was again the turn of the Prussians to nominate. After some hesitation the German Emperor decided not to do so, and withdrew from the scheme. This left insufficient funds for the endowment, and many doubts were expressed of the wisdom of attempting to continue the bishopric. For six years the bishopric was vacant, and, as a veteran missionary priest of the diocese once remarked, it left every one liberty to do what was right in his own eyes.

After careful enquiry, Archbishop Benson came to the conclusion that the bishopric should be revived as a purely Anglican foundation. He was led to this decision by the opinion of the Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem that it was necessary that a bishop of the Church of England should be placed in the Holy City.

For the new bishop the archbishop turned to George Francis Popham Blyth, late archdeacon of Rangoon, now returning to retirement in England after a life spent in the East. He was a man of great vision and vigour, and was what we today would call an "old-fashioned High Churchman"; whose natural sympathy with the Eastern Churches would tend to revive the bishopric on its original course; and the more so in that like Bishop Alexander he had a great zeal for the conversion of Israel as well.

The twenty-seven years of Bishop Blyth's long episcopate were remarkably fruitful. The British occupation of Egypt and Cyprus opened the way for fresh work and made care of resident British people more important. He resolutely set about building churches for them, and supplying chaplains. He started schools and a hospital for work amongst Jews in Palestine and Egypt. To promote friendship with the Eastern Churches he secured specialists to help him. And as a crown of his work he established the Collegiate Church of St. George the Martyr at Jerusalem with the "cathedral" church, bishop's house, clergy house, a school for boys and another for girls, and a nurses' home. But his most important work was the building up of the Jerusalem bishopric fund (known as the Jerusalem and the East Mission Fund) which should provide the sinews of war. For this he made appeals to all parts of

the Anglican Communion, asking more particularly for Good Friday offerings. The task of the bishop within his jurisdiction was not easy. He found much going on that he felt was not characteristic of true Anglicanism, and sought to correct it. More particularly he tried to stop the previous campaign for proselytes from the older Eastern Churches, and to persuade the people to obey the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer. His sense of ecclesiastical discipline brought him into conflict with clergy who were accustomed to go their own way. The quite independent control of the C. M. S. and L. J. S. from London offices tended to aggravate the problem, and the more so as his churchmanship was of a type they disliked. Nonetheless he wrought valiantly and well, and laid foundations of a work which still continues on his lines.

THE CENTENNIAL OBSERVANCES

THE centenary of the consecration of Michael Solomon Alexander as first bishop of the Church of England in Jerusalem in Lambeth Palace chapel, 7th November, 1841, was duly celebrated on 9th November, 1941, by a splendid service in the Collegiate Church of St. George, the Martyr, Jerusalem. The very existence of this cathedral church, not to mention the representative congregation, witnessed to the progress of the Church in the Holy Land since the day when Bishop Alexander arrived to find some half dozen Church people worshipping in a room, called appropriately St. James Chapel, in the only building then possessed. The handbook of the bishopric in Jerusalem, issued for the centenary, indicates how work amongst the people of the land, Arab Christians, Jews, Moslems and resident British folk, has spread throughout Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, Cyprus and Iraq.

Representatives of the Orthodox and Armenian patriarchs, the Coptic and Syrian bishops, Abyssinians, Russians, and Church of Scotland were present. The service was taken by the Rev. A. J. G. Hawes, Ph. D., the British chaplain, assisted by the Rev. H. W. L. Martin, head of the C. M. J. and vicar of Christ Church, the oldest Anglican church in the jurisdiction. Bishop Gwynne of Egypt and the Sudan, who when he was consecrated assistant to Bishop Blyth was also within the bishopric, attended; and appropriately his chaplain was the Rev. A. C. MacInnes, secretary of the C. M. S., and son of the late bishop, under whom he served before the division of the bishopric in 1920. The present bishop in Jerusalem, sixth to hold that title, the Right Rev. George Francis Graham Brown, gave the blessing. His chaplain was the Rev. Canon Bridgeman, who as representative of the American

Church indicated the interest which other parts of the Anglican Communion take in the common witness in the Holy City. His Excellency the High Commissioner for Palestine and Syria, Sir Harold MacMichael, and Mr. Edward Keith Roach, District Commissioner for Jerusalem (Pilate's successor, in fact), read the lessons. Among the clergy were service chaplains on duty in war-time Palestine.

The congregation of many races which filled the cathedral church hardly suggested the many of all communities who displayed an interest in the centenary and, unable to attend, have written to the bishop expressing appreciation of the work of the Church in its mission of goodwill and reconciliation. It is interesting that the fact that the first bishop was by race a Jew has provoked considerable attention in Jewish circles: an article on Bishop Alexander appeared in the Hebrew press and a local Jewish historian has asked more details about some of the more notable conversions in the past hundred years.

A service in commemoration of the three first bishops, Alexander, Gobat and Barclay, was held on Sunday, 23rd November, 1941, in the Anglo-German Cemetery on Mount Zion, where they lie buried. This was the anniversary of Bishop Alexander's untimely death in 1845 in the Sinaitic desert en route by camel caravan to visit his flock in Egypt. And to close the centenary celebrations there was a final thanksgiving service and reception at Christ Church in the old city, on January 21, 1942, being the centenary of Bishop Alexander's arrival on a bleak winter's day in 1842.

JUBILEE COLLEGE, ILLINOIS

*By Percy V. Norwood**

IN a State park of ninety-five acres some fifteen miles northwest of Peoria stands the shell of Jubilee College, the earliest educational enterprise of the Episcopal Church west of Ohio. Close by and in the same reservation is the burial-place of Philander Chase. A mile to the east across a valley is Robin's Nest, the bishop's home. When the state of Illinois acquired the tract a decade ago it was all that remained of a once lordly domain of nearly 4,000 acres—rolling country of field and woodland, picturesque and isolated. Jubilee was the creation of one man's faith and vision and inflexible determination. Its inception was beset by persistent opposition, its course dogged by misfortunes that would have disheartened a less resolute spirit than Philander Chase. So completely did the college embody the characteristic educational ideas of its founder, so much was it his own handiwork, that it had slight chance of long surviving his death.

There was a magnificent audacity in the action of the mere handful of clergy and laity who met at Peoria in March, 1835, to organize the diocese of Illinois and summon the former bishop of Ohio to assume its episcopate. Chase was a man of sixty; the clergy numbered a scant half-dozen; the total number of known communicants was less than fifty. The Bishop saw that the one prospect of success for the Church in Illinois lay in raising up a ministry recruited from the soil, trained in the state, imbued with missionary spirit, at home amid frontier conditions. To provide such a native ministry would require a college and a theological seminary. Immediately after the General Convention at Philadelphia in the late summer of 1835, which (waiving technicalities) admitted the Church in Illinois, Bishop Chase, without stopping to visit his family or his diocese, set out for England to seek once more the generous Church people who had helped him so willingly with his Ohio project. Although the voyage was undertaken "in accordance with the expressed wishes of his personal friends in that country",¹ hardly was he on the ocean when the *Churchman* launched an unkind attack upon his undertaking—a renewal of the efforts which had been made, without avail, to hinder the bishop's earlier appeal in England. To Chase's

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¹Bishop Kemper to the Illinois Convention, 1836.

defense in the columns of the *Churchman* sprang the vigorous Dr. Samuel F. Jarvis of Hartford. The attack, and similar ones later, apparently emanated from the Hobartian circle in New York. Doubtless, churchmanship was a factor; but Chase's very personal manner of appeal did render him vulnerable.

Six months in England yielded between eight and ten thousand dollars, together with books and communion plate. A small part of the money was a personal gift to Bishop and Mrs. Chase, whose home at Gilead, Michigan, had been destroyed by fire during the bishop's absence in England. Chase's friends knew how to use his wife's pathetic account of this disaster to counteract any possible adverse effects of the onslaught in the *Churchman*. The desires of the English donors are indicated in a letter of Timothy Wiggin, the bishop's London banker, under date of April 22, 1836:

First, that you will purchase as much land as you can spare money to pay for, on which you will erect your house and school. The deeds to be in your own name. As the house will be built with your own means, the land on which it will stand, together with a small portion in addition, may be conveyed to you separate from the rest, to enable you to dispose of it for the benefit of your family. Whereas the remainder will probably be conveyed to and by you, to be held in trust for the benefit of the Episcopal Church, to the successor which you will name, and after his decease, by the Bishops of the Diocese, in succession forever, for the same object. As far as I know the intention of the donors, this will be satisfactory to them, and I believe it accords with your views. I trust your private means will be sufficient to enable you to build a house large enough to accommodate candidates for orders, and that you will find persons with a good preparatory education, who will be useful in collecting congregations to worship in the Episcopal form, and who will officiate as lay readers while they are receiving their theological education. Such persons, if they can be found, will be soonest prepared for orders, and at the least expense. I cannot but believe that a seminary so founded, and for such purposes, will do much good in Illinois during your own lifetime, and be the means of introducing Christianity in the Episcopal form, where, but for your exertions, the inhabitants would be of other denominations . . ."²

Back in America, Bishop Chase's first task was to move his family to Illinois and establish them in a rude temporary dwelling near Peoria. This was The Robin's Nest, "made of mud and sticks and filled with young ones". The location of the college presented serious problems. In addition to the considerable sum contributed by English friends, a

²Chase, *Reminiscences*, Vol. II, p. 360.

few hundred dollars had been raised in this country. If the bishop's cherished educational ideas were to be carried out a very large tract of land must be acquired. These ideas were persistently held and frequently stated. The farm-born Chase was a lover of wide open spaces—of fields and flocks and growing crops. Even in his old age he toiled with his own hands at building fences and ploughing the fields. He had an abiding distrust of city life and city ways. Towns were "vortices of vice". In 1850 he wrote that he had

"always entertained a desire, in founding Institutions of learning, to seclude the students as much as possible from temptations to sin; especially those incident to colleges situate in towns and villages.

"Having been educated in one of these, and seen how soon the minds of youth are corrupted by evil example, and their improvement in virtue and useful studies prevented by the wily arts of the wicked, who, through mercenary motives, try to lead them into scenes of gaming, intemperance, and impurity; his resolution has been strengthened to pursue this course whenever the Divine goodness should give him opportunity of founding a college.

"Another consideration has never ceased to aid this purpose of seclusion. This was that of the evils arising from differences in the mode of worship. The many divisions in the Christian Church serve to distract the minds of youth, and prevent the good effects of gospel instruction, however faithfully given and earnestly inculcated.

"Some place, therefore, he thought could and should be selected, so retired and secluded as to prevent both the evils mentioned: a place whereon to found a College, like a family, which by owning the buildings and the grounds on which they were erected might shut out and leave no room for the causes of both the evils mentioned."³

This he had attempted in Ohio; but the trustees of Kenyon, in opposition to the bishop's policies, were determined to make it "in all respects like other colleges". Chase was adamant that the like should not happen in Illinois. He established Jubilee "free from towns and villages and the manifold temptations thereof. To secure this privilege in perpetuity the college owns, or should own, the premises to a given distance all around, so that no tenements be erected but such as the authorities of the College can control; and no nuisances be permitted but such as they may remove at will."⁴ Furthermore, the bishop con-

³*The Motto*, Vol. II, p. 33.

⁴*The Motto*, Vol. II, p. 157.

trived to keep the administration of Jubilee firmly in his own hands. Over his academic family he ruled in truly patriarchal fashion. There should be no trustees until he appointed them in his will. One need hardly point out the contrast between Chase's policies and those prevailing today. Certainly one may well question the wisdom of such hothouse educational method. And it is not unreasonable to maintain that the very rigid terms upon which Jubilee was founded contained within themselves the seeds of its dissolution.

Land was plentiful enough but speculation was rife and conflicting claims often befogged the title. Bishop Chase's first choice was naturally a tract in Peoria County a few miles from the Robin's Nest, his new Illinois home. Before he could acquire title, however, other claimants appeared, and when it became known that this land had been selected prices rose prohibitively. Chase thereupon staked a claim in the Vermillion valley in LaSalle County, in expectation that certain eastern gentlemen who had large holdings in that region would donate a generous acreage for the college. In this he was bitterly disappointed, and must turn once more to the neighborhood of Peoria, where prices had fallen again on rumor that the college would be built elsewhere. On December 5, 1838, he wrote "a very Dear Friend" (possibly Lord Kenyon):

"I have now great pleasure in stating that my agents for the purchase of lands for the college at Quincy, and of individuals residing elsewhere, have been completely successful. I hold now, for the benefit of the institution of religion and learning which I am now founding in township ten north and six east, Peoria County, Illinois, lands to the amount of two thousand five hundred acres, besides seven hundred and twenty acres which were entered for the said institution in LaSalle county, when it was expected to be located there; in all, three thousand two hundred and twenty. Thus the great objects are secured by a series of events most perplexing, yet, through the good providence of God, resulting most beneficially. The college site is remarkable for its health and beauty. It is high, commanding a cheering and variegated prospect up and down the two branches of a beautiful stream of pure water. It looks to the south, and has a fine grove of trees which shield it from the north and west winds in the winter, and which, overshadowing the buildings, will make it pleasant in the summer . . . in full view of the *Robin's Nest*, and about a mile off. The farmlands, perhaps the most fertile in the world, will, I trust, be soon fenced and put under cultivation, which effected, will produce a fine revenue for the support of the institution in future times . . . If you ask me for the reason why I call my Illinois institution JUBILEE COLLEGE, I answer: That name of all

others suits my feelings and circumstances. I wish to give thanks and rejoice, that after seven years passed in much trouble, pain, and moral servitude, God hath permitted me, for Jesus' sake, to return unto his gracious favor. In September, 1831, I left those dear places by me named Gambier hill and Kenyon college—and in 1838, precisely in the same month and the same day of the month, to blow the trumpet in Zion for joy, that another school of the prophets, more than five hundred miles still further towards the setting sun, is founded to the glory of the great Redeemer! Philander Chase."⁵

On Wednesday in Easter week, April 3, 1839, the cornerstone of Jubilee chapel and schoolhouse was laid with appropriate ceremonies in the presence of three or four hundred people from the neighborhood. Bishop Chase delivered an address in which he specified the terms of his new foundation:

"Its nature is theological; its end is the salvation of the souls of men by means of a Christian education. It is to be a school of the prophets. Ministers of the gospel of Jesus Christ are to be trained here. This is the *primary* object, and without attaining this it will fail of its end—which end, therefore, is never to be 'merged'⁶ in any other. Persons of all liberal professions in the arts and sciences are also to be educated here, provided they be willing to be taught the religion of the God of Christians. All things being conducted according to the well-known principles of worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church . . . the designs and will of the donors and founders of this institution will be answered, and not otherwise."⁷

It is to be noted, further, that the bishop explicitly retained for himself the right to name all officers of administration and instruction, and all trustees subject to confirmation by the diocesan convention. No trustees were nominated, however, during his lifetime. This is understandable enough in the light of his unhappy experience in Ohio.

The Jubilee lands afforded abundant lumber and sandstone for building, but other materials had to be ordered from Chicago, St. Louis, and even from distant Pittsburgh, at distressingly high transportation costs. By autumn the funds in Bishop Chase's hands were exhausted and he must make a fresh appeal, even though financial distress held the whole country in its grip. The way to the Northeast was blocked by severe weather, but most opportunely a door was opened in the South in consequence of some kind words which Bishop Bowen of South Carolina had written about the new Church college on the frontier. To the

⁵Chase, *Reminiscences*, Vol. II, pp. 445-446.

⁶With obvious reference to the "apostacy" of Kenyon College.

⁷*Illinois Convention Journal*, 1839, p. 6.

generous Church folk of the South the bishop of Illinois now turned. At St. Louis his venture received the commendation of Bishop Kemper. A good beginning was made at Natchez. Arriving at New Orleans, Chase encountered, to his surprise, a rival in the person of a clergyman named Minard who was actively soliciting money for Bishop Kemper's college project in Missouri. Ever since his rectorship of Christ Church (now nearly thirty years past) the New Orleans parish had owed Chase for arrears in salary. The vestry now acknowledged and paid this debt, amounting to \$1,500. With Yankee shrewdness the bishop invested this sum in sugar, coffee, molasses, and other staples, to be shipped to Jubilee and sold to the neighborhood for the benefit of the institution. Such was the origin of Jubilee store.

Charleston's response did not fall short of Chase's expectations. Ten thousand dollars were subscribed by a few wealthy patrons to found a South Carolina professorship in memory of Bishops Dehon and Bowen. At the same time, several thousands were pledged to the college by friends in New York, New England, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. While in Charleston, Bishop Chase was confronted by the old opposition to his undertaking. Consulting eminent members of the South Carolina bar, he was advised that he could quite properly hold the college property in his own name as sole trustee under common law, and by will create a board of trustees to succeed to title.⁸ From a letter written to Bishop Ives of North Carolina we know that on the eve of his departure from Illinois on his southern quest Chase had taken the precaution of drawing his will designating trustees for Jubilee.⁹ The danger that the property might be lost to the Church was thus more imaginary than real.

Not until November, 1840, after an absence just short of a year, did Bishop Chase return to Robin's Nest and Jubilee. On the fifteenth of that month the college chapel was consecrated and regular services began. The chapel served as the parish church of Christ Church, Robin's Nest, from which missionary work was done throughout the vicinity. There the Illinois convention of 1841 was held. The preparatory department of the college had been opened on a small scale early in 1840; the collegiate and theological departments were in operation by 1841. A self-contained manorial domain was emerging, with store, shops, saw mill, grain mill, houses for teachers and laborers. Jubilee had its own blacksmith, tailor, and shoemaker. The bishop's son Henry was appointed steward and business manager. Rev. Samuel Chase, a distant relative who had married the bishop's favorite niece, came to act as vice-principal and South Carolina professor of Ancient Languages—a position he held until his death in 1878. After the death

⁸*Malignity Exposed*, pp. 6-7.

⁹Roma D. Shively, *Jubilee: a Pioneer College*, p. 18.

of Bishop Chase, Samuel was the soul of Jubilee and almost single-handed saved it from extinction.

Our knowledge of the first years of Jubilee's brief history is fragmentary, particularly on the academic side. In the *Spirit of Missions* for September, 1844,¹⁰ there is a succinct statement on the college properties. In all, 3,910 acres, free of all encumbrance and "title unquestioned" (but it did not long remain so), containing abundant wood, building stone, clay for brick, and bituminous coal. One hundred and fifty acres under cultivation supplied the academic table. In addition to the main building (the stone chapel and schoolhouse, only the first unit of a projected quadrangle), there were some half-dozen other structures of wood or brick. Horses, cattle, 650 sheep, "the wool of which is sent to the east, manufactured on shares, and sold for the benefit of the college". The grain mill came a little later and the founder hoped that Jubilee flour would travel far.

In 1847 a printing-press was purchased at St. Louis with money given by English friends. This made possible the publication of *The Motto*,¹¹ a magazine of miscellaneous content, with much information on college affairs. This periodical appeared at intervals from July, 1847, to October, 1852, the last number recording the death of Bishop Chase and the creation of a board of trustees by his will. The second number contains an "Advertisement" declaring the principles of Jubilee to be "those of temperance, piety, and Christian love and purity". An appeal is made for "laborers and mechanics, who are strictly temperate, and willing to attend the worship of God in the use of her pious and public Protestant ritual". Tailor, blacksmith, and carpenters are wanted immediately. "Masons in the spring". At that time (January, 1848) there were thirty students, of whom five were candidates for Holy Orders engaged in the study of theology. In later numbers it is habitually declared:

"What distinguishes Jubilee College from all others is its seclusion from temptations to vice and immorality, inseparable from Institutions in or near towns and villages. This feature alone is *now* drawing the attention of many."

Indeed, Jubilee differed from other colleges of the time less in respect to curriculum (the usual classical studies) than in discipline and manner of life. Distance from settled places discouraged roaming abroad, especially since the prairie roads were poor and often muddy. Attendance at daily and Sunday services was obligatory. Students were under constant supervision by their teachers in regard to manners

¹⁰Vol. IX, p. 315.

¹¹*The Motto of Jubilee College. Jehovah Jireh, God Will Provide.*

and morals no less than in their studies. It was essentially a *family* life. General reading was scrutinized: "all novels, romances, or any books, pamphlets, and newspapers, whose tendencies may be questionable, are expressly prohibited", and might be confiscated if found. Smoking and loud conversation were forbidden. All pocket money must be deposited with the principal and used only with his approval; nor could money be spent at the college store without order from parent or guardian.¹² While this strictness was, of course, in complete accord with Bishop Chase's educational ideas, one may doubt the wisdom of such strict regimentation and its effect upon healthy youngsters.

Until 1852, when it was raised by twenty-five percent, the fee was \$100 per year, including books, stationery, and laundry (the latter must be done on the premises). Sons of clergymen working in Illinois were received at half rate—"and if they be orphans, they are educated gratis". Little material has survived to shed light upon the student body. The normal number of students appears to have been around fifty, perhaps five or six of them engaged in theological studies. Even at the modest rate fixed for board and tuition, students in funds were hard to secure in the western country, and in 1844 the bishop embarked upon an energetic campaign for yearly scholarships of a hundred dollars each. A number of eastern and southern friends made pledges, but these were "voluntary contributions . . . for the time being, and dependent on the will of the donors . . . Some have lasted even to the present time (1847) and some have ceased altogether. The beneficiaries, however, remain . . . so that there are more beneficiaries than are paid for. The fund, therefore, is greatly in arrears."¹³ By the beginning of 1849 the deficit on this account amounted to nearly \$1,800. Most of the students appear to have come from Illinois, but Bishop Chase's prestige was such that a goodly number were sent him from Connecticut and elsewhere in the East and South. Sometimes they were supported by the contributions of their home parish.

The faculty was limited to three or four. All professors must be "in full orders"; other teachers "pious communicants". In default of other adequate endowment they were supported by the produce of the college mills and the sheep pastured on the domain—numbering 2,000 by 1847. Never for a moment were Jubilee and Bishop Chase free from serious financial worries. Only in the faith expressed in his motto—*Jehovah Jireh*—could the indomitable old prelate persevere. A heavy blow fell in September, 1849, when a mysterious fire destroyed the flour and saw mills upon which the college so largely depended for its exist-

¹²By-Laws, *Register*, 1855.

¹³*Reminiscences*, II, p. 555.

ence. The loss amounted to upwards of \$8,000, with not one penny of insurance, because the companies would not write policies on properties containing a steam engine. "Nothing but an unshaken faith in the wisdom of God" kept the bishop from sinking under the blow. Food-stuffs must now be bought in the market at Peoria and transported fifteen miles over wretched roads. "The laborers are unpaid . . . The bishop being entirely out of funds looks to God only for support . . . Whether for life, or for death, all will be right."¹⁴

In this desperate situation, with indebtedness mounting, the "grand old man" resolved to develop to the utmost the natural resources of his land—to put more acres under cultivation, to plant orchards and strawberry beds, to expand the production of wool, to utilize the plentiful bituminous coal.¹⁵

But this was by no means all. For a long time Chase had felt that the trustees of Kenyon College had violated the terms upon which he had established it with money of his own securing. If they were guilty of a breach of trust (on which score he had not the least doubt), and if they refused to amend the error of their ways (which they showed no signs of doing), he might properly reclaim the donations so scandalously misused.

"His conscience tells him to repossess himself of both principal and interest of the forfeited donation and use it as dedicated. The tree . . . first planted on Gambier Hill, being now about to wither and perish . . . must needs be removed to a more genial soil—Jubilee Hill, Illinois. There, being watered by the dews of Heaven, it will take root downward, and bear fruit upward.

"The whole amount, principal and interest of which is now *claimed*, is nearly nine thousand dollars. A friend, it is believed, has, ere this, made the demand; being requested so to do by the author of the above statement—Philander Chase."¹⁶

This demand was of course ignored. After the bishop's death the trustees of Jubilee authorized his successor to press the claim against the trustees of "The Theological Seminary of Ohio" (*sic*), now accruing to the account of Jubilee College.¹⁷

Upon the heels of fire came flood. In the summer of 1851, heavy rains washed away the college fences and ruined the crops. Bishop Chase had "already advanced all his available (personal) means . . . to keep the college alive in her most gloomy moments."¹⁸ The school was over-

¹⁴*Motto*, September 20, 1849, announcing the disaster.

¹⁵*Motto*, II, 15ff.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 33ff., esp. 40.

¹⁷Trustees' minutes, meeting of Sept. 1, 1853.

¹⁸*Motto*, II, 162.

flowing with pupils, but debt more than kept pace with it. The climax of misfortune came with a lawsuit challenging the bishop's title to 320 acres in the very heart of his domain, upon which a good part of the buildings stood. A Federal court at Springfield decided in favor of the college, but on appeal this decision was reversed by a court sitting at Chicago. To extinguish the adverse claim Bishop Chase had to obligate himself to pay \$1,600 out of his own already slender means. The college was now in his debt to the amount of more than \$15,000, "embracing the avails of the sales of nearly all the Michigan farms, and all the contributions of a personal character from dear old England."¹⁹ By his will he remitted two-thirds of this debt (with stipulations concerning the education of his descendants at Jubilee), while claiming the other third for the benefit of his widow and partner in sacrifice.

Jubilee's 3,910 acres and all the structures erected thereon were held in the name of Philander Chase to carry out the wishes of the donors in England and in this country, who by 1844 had contributed \$37,530. Successive conventions of the diocese of Illinois had expressed complete confidence in the bishop's integrity and satisfaction with this form of tenure. But in the East there were those who made much of the fact that no corporate charter had been granted by the state of Illinois. Chase was accused—one might say, maliciously accused—of collecting money from generous Episcopalians for an institution which he owned personally and managed as a family enterprise. It was insinuated that the property might never come into possession of the Church in Illinois. The charge plagued the bishop on his southern tour in 1839-1840, whereupon he procured approval of the legality of his procedure from eminent jurists in South Carolina. He had already by will provided for trustees, but for some years he refrained from seeking a charter of incorporation because at that time the Illinois legislature refused to grant charters to academic institutions in terms which would safeguard denominational interests and permit a department of theology. However, in 1844 he did petition the legislature for a charter for Jubilee, and one was issued which he refused to accept on the ground of its being "in several most important particulars contrary to the will of the *donors*, and the express declaration of that will made and published by the founder" at the laying of the cornerstone. He therefore requested the State Council of Revision to revoke the objectionable document.

Two years later the old charges were renewed in an anonymous pamphlet:

A Plain Statement for the consideration of the Friends of
the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Illinois . . .

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 214.

drawn up some years ago, but most proper for the present time, by one who now rests from his labors: with notes by Observer.

The pamphlet bears the imprint of a New York firm, but the bishop considered it "evidently worked off from a press in Chicago" from the pen of a disgruntled clergyman with whom he had recently had disciplinary dealings. It is an example of the hard and not always fair hitting which so frequently characterized ecclesiastical controversy in those days. Samuel Chase replied in *Malignity exposed: or a vindication of Bishop Chase against the malicious accusations . . .*, addressed to the bishops of the American Church, and reviewing, with ample documentation, the whole story of Jubilee's tenure and charter.

By the time the "vindication" appeared there was no longer any need for it. In the first weeks of 1847, Bishop Chase had journeyed down to Springfield, had conferred with the Governor and the President of the Senate and "told them plainly what he wanted". The result was an act of incorporation completely to his liking and embodying the principles he had announced at the cornerstone laying in April, 1839. The charter bears the date of January 22, 1847. Its terms empowered Philander Chase, Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Illinois, to appoint, by will or otherwise, trustees to form a corporate body to be known as the President and Trustees of Jubilee College. The institution is to consist of (1) a theological department, (2) the college proper, (3) a classical preparatory school, (4) a female seminary. Appropriate degrees may be conferred. The Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Illinois to be *ex-officio* President of the College and of the Board of Trustees. A majority of the trustees must be clergymen "in full orders"; lay members must be communicants in good standing. The president is to nominate to all vacancies in the board of trustees and to all teaching posts, subject to approval by the board. All appointments already made by the founder to continue without question. The trustees are to make a triennial report to the convention of the diocese, which shall have power to investigate and prosecute any suspected delinquency or breach of trust, or misapplication of funds "contrary to the will of the founder"—all this, however, provided the convention shall have formally accepted this responsibility. In the convention of June, 1847, resolutions were adopted giving "unreserved assent" to the terms of the charter and expressing "entire approbation" of the manner in which the bishop had administered the funds committed to his care.

The charter was amended in 1859 on the initiative of the trustees, to permit the diocesan convention to elect annually three members of the board to serve for a term of two years.

Shortly after the acceptance of the charter—on July 7, 1847—Jubilee held its first commencement, with procession, the customary orations, an *al fresco* luncheon, and the band performing “some of the best pieces”. Six degrees in arts were conferred. The few years immediately following were—despite the precarious financial situation—the best in Jubilee’s brief history. The college was functioning in all departments. Bishop Chase’s wide acquaintance—he was Presiding Bishop from 1843 until his death—drew students from east and south. His pen kept the institution before the Church public, although the response fell far short of the need. On his death, September 20, 1852, title and control of the college passed to the board of nine trustees created by the terms of his will, with Bishop Whitehouse as president *ex officio* and Dr. Samuel Chase as vice-president and secretary. The urban-born Whitehouse could hardly have had any enthusiasm for an institution so essentially (and excessively) rural as Jubilee. But for a while the impetus of Chase’s prestige and loyalty to his memory carried on, and there were even dreams of expansion. Rev. Charles Dresser, who had officiated at the marriage of Abraham Lincoln and Mary Todd, gave up his Springfield parish to become professor of belles lettres.

At its first meeting, November 3, 1852, the board acknowledged indebtedness to Bishop Chase’s estate to the amount of \$10,450. To meet this it was resolved to press the claim against Kenyon College. Rev. Ezra Kellogg and Rev. Dudley Chase (son of the bishop) were appointed to solicit funds in America and England, respectively. It was hoped that enough money could be raised to discharge the debt to the Chase family and to complete the main building as originally planned as a memorial to the deceased bishop. By this time, however, the slavery issue was cutting off the once generous support from the South. Presently, the disastrous precedent was set of selling off a portion of the domain—practically all the endowment the college had. This ruinous course was pursued until at the end only ninety-five acres remained out of the 3,910. In 1857 fire destroyed the west wing of the main building, and it appears that the money raised by the latest appeal was used up in rebuilding. The whole idea of expansion was abandoned. Teachers’ salaries were in arrears. By this time Jubilee had become little more than a preparatory school for clergy, which the diocese undertook to sustain.²⁰ It was hoped that with the assumption of greater responsibility by the diocesan convention (in electing to the board of trustees) “the Institution will be put in a permanent condition of usefulness and honor.”²¹

This hope failed of realization. By 1862 the affairs of Jubilee had

²⁰*Conv. Journal*, 1858, p. 21.

²¹Bishop Whitehouse, *Conv. address*, 1859.

reached a crisis. In his convention address of that year Bishop Whitehouse gave the problem extended consideration. With radically changing social conditions and the multiplication of excellent schools, the day of the isolated country college was past. "I venture", he remarked, "to express as the cardinal idea in the handling of the whole matter, that the college will not thrive—I might say, will not exist—unless removed from its present location to some city." His solution of the problem was to remove the college proper and the theological department to Chicago, the preparatory department to Peoria or Chicago, leaving the female seminary in sole occupation of Jubilee Hill. The domain, now reduced to 1,440 acres, might serve as at least a partial endowment.²²

Two years later he reported:

"The Bishop is helpless. The Trustees are disheartened. The work falls under indefinite suspicion and reproach. Its available resources are unemployed . . . (despite) the devout labors and heart sacrifices which have hallowed Jubilee for posterity and given it as a legacy of blessing . . ."²³

Since Samuel Chase was absent on service as an army chaplain all academic activity was suspended until the close of the war, when the preparatory departments were reopened. Jubilee was now a "college" in name only. In 1869 the matter of a change of location came up again. The trustees resolved that

"The Interests of the Church and the College require that the Institution should be removed from its present location."²⁴

This decision, however, was naturally opposed by the Chase family and its representatives on the board. Despite their protest, offers for a new site were solicited. Meanwhile educational activity was once more at a standstill. Between 1869 and 1876 the minutes are a blank. In the latter year it was voted that "the buildings and other property of Jubilee College ought to be utilized for educational purposes", and the board declared itself ready to welcome any proposals looking in that direction.

Various sites were proposed and discussed but nothing came of it. Samuel Chase carried on bravely and almost alone until his death in January, 1878. Long before that time Jubilee had become but a "skeleton", as Bishop Whitehouse graphically described it shortly before his death. In 1883-1884 the remaining greatly depleted property was leased for a period of five years to Rev. Thomas W. Haskins of Alton

²²Conv. address, 1862, pp. 38ff.

²³Conv. address, 1864, pp. 37-38.

²⁴Minutes, January 20, 1869.

to be operated as a school for Indian boys.²⁵ The lease was not renewed. Twenty years later it was again leased, this time to a schoolmaster who opened Jubilee School, a private boarding school for boys, only to move to Indiana after a short time, carrying, it was charged, some of Jubilee's property with him.

The trustees were finding it impossible to do anything with a site so isolated and reached only over poor roads. There was no railway line within six miles. Yet they were not unmindful of their obligations and procured a judicial opinion that they might properly expend any of the income in grants to young men studying for the ministry in other institutions. At least one theological student was thus supported at Nashotah. Claims of one or two of Bishop Chase's descendants were similarly recognized under the terms of his will, which provided them free tuition in perpetuity.²⁶

Finally, in 1926, the Circuit Court at Peoria declared the charter annulled on grounds of non-performance and ordered corporate affairs to be closed and the property liquidated within two years. The last recorded trustees' meeting was held in October, 1932, when the property was transferred to private hands; whence it came into possession of the state of Illinois, which has at least partially restored the brown sandstone walls that were once the chapel and "schoolhouse" of Jubilee, and has kept trim the graves of its founder and his kin in the little cemetery nearby.

For one reason or another the mortality rate was high among early denominational institutions in the West. Some, like Bishop Kemper's college at St. Louis, died in infancy. While the beginnings of Jubilee were not altogether unpropitious, and while several hundred people first and last contributed to its support, it was from the start, and increasingly through the years as conditions changed, fatally handicapped by its unfortunate location. Faith and love and sacrifice had been built into its fabric; but the charm of its bucolic setting was hardly conducive to efficiency in higher education, particularly after frontier conditions had given place to more stable and culturally advanced modes of life. Furthermore, it had been established on terms so rigid and on a foundation so personal, that it could not, until too late, attempt to adapt itself to changing social patterns. Bishop Whitehouse and some of the trustees came to realize this not long after the death of the founder.

Jubilee's sons were mostly of humble circumstances and few in number. No body of affluent alumni could be summoned to its aid in days of adversity. Faithful missionaries Jubilee bore, indeed; but few of her alumni attained more than local distinction—one former student

²⁵Minutes, January, 1884.

²⁶Minutes, May, 1904.

(H. A. Neely) became bishop of Maine, and one (Adlai Stevenson) was Vice President of the United States in the second Cleveland administration. Perhaps if it could have been removed to an urban location, as Whitehouse urged only ten years after its founder's death, Jubilee would not now be a "forgotten college" standing lonely in the moonlight on Illinois' rolling prairie.

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In the possession of a great-grandson of Bishop Chase: an extensive and historically valuable collection of letters by and to the bishop, mostly from the Illinois period, with numerous other documents.

PRINTED SOURCES: *Bishop Chase's Reminiscences: an Autobiography*. 2nd ed., 2 Vols., Boston, 1848. *The Motto of Jubilee College*, Printed by the Jubilee press, July, 1847—October, 1852.

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**THE REVEREND ALEXANDER MORAY, M. A., D. D.
THE FIRST BISHOP-DESIGNATE OF VIRGINIA
1672-3**

By Mary Frances Goodwin

IF we would understand the development of laws and customs in the colony of Virginia we may well have to sweep clear from our minds all preconceived ideas on the subject and seek to study the conditions and surroundings in the colonies from the viewpoint of a wayfarer in a strange new land, some three centuries ago.

Particularly is this true when studying the early growth of the church in Virginia. The Englishmen who first settled the colony found no existing civilization on which to build. Theirs was a venture based on no former experiences in the history of their people. There were no ancient cities in Virginia as had been found by the East India Company; nor untold riches such as the Spanish explorers claimed to have discovered in South America. The fertile soil, the large rivers, the dark forests in which lurked the unfriendly savages were the foundations upon which they had to build an empire; but build they did with a courage and faith rarely, if ever, equalled in the history of the English race.

Virginia was settled with the fullest co-operation of the national Church of England, and herein she differed from the other colonies which were, for the most part, the outcome of protests against some phases of the life of the Church at home. When Robert Hunt was selected as minister for the first expedition under the London Company, he was approved by no less a person than the archbishop of Canterbury; again, a few years later his Grace also recommended Alexander Whitaker, the first "Apostle to the Indians", for a cure in Virginia.

The first episcopal authority to be consulted when questions arose relating to the welfare of the rapidly growing colony was the bishop of London. The Virginia Council sat in London; it was natural that they should appeal to a bishop near at hand for advice. Bishop King, the incumbent from 1611 to 1621, was deeply interested in the welfare of the distant colony. He was untiring in his efforts in behalf of the ill-fated Henrico College, and was himself a member of the King's Council for Virginia. It is not difficult to see that he was no less anxious to give his help than the Company was to ask it. From the clergy first

sent to Virginia the bishop required an accounting of their activities each year. Unfortunately for historians the correspondence between the earlier clergy and the bishop is lost.¹

Although the relation between the bishop of London and the clergymen in Virginia was, as a general thing, very friendly, there was an early demand for a resident bishop in the colony. But its accomplishment would be fraught with political intrigue. In the Church of England bishops were appointed by the crown, their high office carried with it a seat in the House of Lords, a privilege not easily renounced for an overseas diocese. There was always the danger that the newly appointed bishop might give over to a suffragan his duties in the colony while he himself stayed at home to enjoy an ample salary. Indeed, we have evidence that this is just what was planned in one instance when Dean Swift of Trinity College, Dublin, sought the appointment at the turn of the century. Whether the church could have weathered such a scheme is problematic; certain it is she was afraid of it then. And yet, so desperate did her plight become later on, that she herself asked for a suffragan as a possible solution to her problem.

However, there were many right-minded men who, having the interests of the Church in Virginia at heart sought to have a bishop appointed to whom would be given the oversight of all the American colonies and "the isles of the sea." The first plea for a bishop in America which we can find is in Sir Francis Bacon's "Essay on the Plantations". Doubtless he anticipated some schism unless a bishop was stationed in the colonies; he warned of the sin of "rending the coat of Christ" which must be kept seamless."²

The plea for a chief shepherd for the colony of Virginia was taken up just after the Restoration by a writer, tentatively identified as Roger Green, but who signed his writings simply R. G. The pamphlet in which he set forth the plight of the Church in the colony was called "Virginia's Cure". He advocated the establishment of fellowships at Oxford and Cambridge for men who would serve seven years in Virginia as ministers. Furthermore, he earnestly demanded the presence of a bishop in the colony, saying there were "divers persons already in the Colony fit to serve as Deacons," who "after due probation and examination, which could be conducted by a bishop, might profitably be employed in the furtherance of the Gospel of Christ." This help, the writer argued, should be sent first to Virginia, because "while Naval forces (of the Commonwealth) had reduced the Colony under the power but never under to the obedience of the Usurper . . . her people had

¹*The Early English Colonies in America.* Sadler Phillips, pp. 57-58.

²*History of The Colonial Church.* James S. M. Anderson. London 1845. Vol. I: 395. Hereinafter referred to as *Anderson*.

alone cheerfully and joyfully embraced, encouraged and maintained the orthodox ministers that went over to them in their public conformity to the Church of England, in her doctrine and stated manner of Public worship."³

"Virginia's Cure" fell under the eyes of the bishops of London and of Worcester. Their interest was aroused, and they were ready to receive and encourage the Rev. Philip Mallory who followed "R. G." who was sent over by the House of Burgesses to lay before the authorities the needs of the Church in the colony.

The fruits of these gentlemen's labors ripened ten years later about 1672, when a charter was drawn up for the creation of a Diocese in Virginia including the English settlements in Bermuda. Three copies of this charter are known to exist. The one in which we are interested is to be found in the library of All Souls College, Oxford. A copy was brought to this country about 1867 by Dr. F. L. Hawks, and was included later in the "Historical Collections—Virginia" edited by Dr. Perry. Being written in Latin it escaped general notice, but in 1927 it was translated by the late Bishop William Cabell Brown of Virginia and published in the Virginia Historical Magazine, January 1928. It is to this English translation we turn now for further enlightenment on the attempt to have a bishop in Virginia.

The document is entitled: "DRAFT FOR THE CREATION OF A BISHOPRICK IN VIRGINIA. Qu. By whom it was drawn. I was consulted, but did not draw the Preface; only I gave instruction out of K. Henry VIII the charters of foundation of the new bishopricks." We do not know who wrote this notation. Were it possible to find out, the history of the document might be much clearer. It is supposed to have been written by Sir Leoline Jenkins, a man high up in the councils of the king and a devoted churchman. The charter is among his papers in All Souls College.⁴

The following excerpts from the charter show the care with which those responsible for the document tried to safeguard the interests of the Church, and at the same time to give the new diocese her just rights. It should be borne in mind that the proposed diocese was not to be what we know today as a missionary diocese, but a full diocese with the

³Anderson, II: 367-8.)

⁴Of the three copies of the charter known to exist, two have never been published, but seem to be substantially the same as the All Souls Draft. One copy is among the papers at Fulham Palace, the other, the third copy, is among the Tanner MS in the British Museum. This copy differs somewhat in the delineations of the proposed diocese, as it includes "the Barbadoes, Bermuda Leeward Islands, Jamaica, Virginia and Maryland" On a slip, attached to this charter and in a different handwriting is the statement that the bishop of Virginia is not to have jurisdiction over New England in any way until His Majesty should see fit to order it. (*Guide for Ms. Material for American History* etc. p. 376. Dr. Charles. M. Andrews).

same rights, privileges and responsibilities that any diocese in England enjoyed.

In the first paragraph the king declares himself "not unmindful of what we owe to God and to our subjects: Let it be known unto you that we have determined to establish the Church of God not only in our own domains in those lands, but also relying on the help of God to extend it yet further . . .

"Since, therefore among all our possessions the royal plantation named Virginia not only offers of all others the best hope for the Church's growth because of, in addition to being a large country, the plentitude of nations and multitude of Indians, but also seeing that it is the first and oldest of all, as one might say the Alma Mater, whence the rest of the plantations took their start, and furthermore supported them and us by annual revenues, and seeing that it has always paid due reverence to the Church of England (for which cause it has the more deserved our care), we have decided to establish and confirm it together with all our other American plantations under the most excellent form and government of the Church."

There follow statements that the Church in Virginia now and in the future shall be put under the jurisdiction of the archepiscopal see of Canterbury "in the very same way and no other, as now every other episcopal see whatsoever or Diocese in our realm of England is placed." A promise is made to supply the churches with "pastors notable for their learning and uprightness of life, who have been canonically ordained and instituted with due religious observations."

" . . . Wherefore . . . we have made, and accordingly by these presents do make this decree . . . that the place called James City and the church there be created, erected, founded and established as an Episcopal see and Cathedral Church; and in the same James City and its Church we do truly and fully erect, found, arrange, make and establish strictly for all future times as an Episcopal See and Cathedral Church; and we will so order by these presents that it be so established and forever be inviolably observed . . . and by these presents we make and ordain a Diocese out of the said city and region with all the domains or American plantations hereinafter mentioned and all other places in America subject to us; and we will and ordain that in like manner forever it be called, spoken of witnessed to and named the Diocese of Virginia . . . and so by these presents we declare, determine and ordain that all of these and each of them, to-wit, each of our domains or plantations, to the north of Virginia, whether it be New England or New York, or any other place between, whether on "Terra firma" and continent, whether on adjacent islands, commonly called Bermudas, Barbadoes, St. Christopher's, Antiego, Nevis, Mont

Serrat together with the rest of the adjacent Caribbean Islands, along with our island of Jamaica, be joined and united with the aforesaid Diocese of Virginia—Nevertheless we will and by these presents declard that the bishops of Virginia shall in no wise exercise episcopal jurisdiction and authority over New England, but we will that our subjects living in New England be immune, free and totally exempt from all episcopal authority until such time as shall be ordered by us."

After providing adequate support for the new diocese, the archbishop of Canterbury was called on to consecrate the appointed candidate as bishop, and to invest him with the insignia of his office. The document ends with this endorsement:

"In cujus Rei Testimonium etc.
TESTE REGE, apud WestM."

By 1675 plans to carry out the provisions of the charter had so far progressed that a suitable man had been selected for the important post of bishop. He was an old friend of the king, who had been at his side during the disastrous battle of Worcester, after which he had found it expedient to leave his native country, even as Charles had. The selectee, Rev. Alexander Moray (or Murray) was a native of Perthshire, and a cousin of Sir Robert Moray. He found refuge in Virginia where he served the parish of Ware, Gloucester County, where he lived for some years, bought land and made plans to spend his declining years in the colony. As both the vestry book and the register of the parish have long since disappeared, we know nothing of his ministry in Ware Parish. There is no record of his death in Virginia, in fact it is thought that he died in London. There is very little to tell about him. We have two letters to his cousin Robert Moray, preserved in the papers of the Philosophical Society of London, and quotations from several other letters of his, and that is the extent of the record. However there are references to him by which a scanty account of the last part of his life can be patched together.

The letters written by Alexander Moray to his cousin are typical of many such epistles sent to friends or relatives in England by men of learning who came to this country in the latter part of the seventeenth century, some as refugees, some to carve a fortune for themselves in the new world, and some in the interest of science. Most of these men had connections "back home" among that remarkable group in London from whence sprang the "Fellows of the Royal Society" led by Sir Hans Sloan, who had begun the work of building up the great British Museum of today. Moray's letters are filled with curious fragments of information

—and misinformation—as were those of his friends. They had not learned that one swallow does not make a summer, and to them one case proved a point. Moray studied the animal life around him, he was eager to tell of those which were unknown in England, as well as of the strange plants indigenous to Virginia. His letters have been republished⁵ and from these we gather the excerpts below:

From Ware River in Mockjack River, Feb. 1665.

. . . I desire further that you would procure me the easiest and best receipt for making salt; and how they make bay salt at Rochel in France, for salt is very dear here, and whatever you can recommend to me for anything worth improving here; I would willingly be at the charges to improve art and Vertue. I have planted here already ten thousand mulberry trees and hope, within 2 or 3 years to reap good silk from them. I have planted them in an extra-ordinary way, which advances them 2 or 3 years growth, in respect of being sown in seed; and they are now, at writing hereof all holding good, in bud and herbs; although this has been a very long and bitter winter with us, much longer and colder than ever I did find in Scotland or England. I intend likewise to plant them all, as if they were currants or gooseberries, so thick as in hedges, whereby one may gather as many herbs as otherwise planted in trees at distances, 4 persons may do. For expedience is the benefit of this trade, and having discoursed on this new way to all here, they may be inclinable to this way . . . for being in hedges they will always be young tender plants and herbs, and early be cut in great quantity with a pair of scissors . . . I have sown a little French barley and rice seed, and have thought of a way of preparing them for the merchant, as they are to be, but if you inform me how they are prepared, you may save me some labor. If you can procure me any coffee in husks, or anything else of commodities from the Straits, to try here, you will oblige. it is like that some of the merchants that are of your Society who keep a correspondency may help you thereto . . .”

In the other letter, dated June 1665, Moray speaks of a heavy loss caused by storms and of several deaths in his family. His wife was planning to leave for home soon, and would visit Sir Robert's family and tell them more of the home life in Virginia. Moray himself was planning to return to England for a visit “the spring after this next”. He then tells of having bought a plantation on which he hopes to settle and thus free himself from being “chargeable to the Gospel” for his living. His letter continues:

⁵*William and Mary College Quarterly*, 2d Series, vol: II: 157-161)

"I have a design of recommending to our Countrymen a settlement and a plantation to the southward of this, which may be the hopefulest business yet has been aimed at. I should think myself very happy in living in this country: being so pleasant, so fertile and so plentiful a country: but that the emulations and differences betwixt us and the English, not only give discouragement, but that when we have occasion, we meet with many disappointments in justice both for securing (e)states and persons and our peace; However we must take the bitt and the busket with it, they tell us we are like the jews, we thrive on being crost; I hope our afflictions work for our good, for they make us spare, and their prosperity makes them spend so as generally the condition betwixt the English and us is not farr different, as to outward things, many of our Countrymen living better than ever their forefathers, and that from so mean a beginning as being sold as slaves here after Hamilton's engagement and Worcester fight, are now here-in great masters of many servants themselves; my zeal for my country over-weighs all things else with me next the Gospel, and I hope there is no true Countryman will be wanting when occasion may serve for a good endeavor *micat ut sol inclytā virtus* . . . Could public good consist with a hermetick condition, I should prefer it before all others, but the next to it which is the settling in a wilderness of milk and honey; none can know the sweetness of it but he that tastes it; one ocular inspection, one aromatick smel of our woods; one hearing of the concert of our birds in those woods would affect more than a 1000 stories let the authors be never so readable.

"Thus recommending my all to you, as unto its own, so I rest,

Yours, or not my own,
Alex Moray.

from my house in Ware Riv. in Mockjack Bay in Virginia,
June 1st, 1665. My wyf desires to present her Services unto you until she attend you herself.

"For Sr. Robert Moray,
at the earl of Lauderdale's in Whitehall,
London these . . ."

The next papers which we can find referring to Rev. Mr. Moray were accidentally uncovered in the British Museum a few years ago, and so far as can be determined, they have never been published. They are four manuscripts having to do with the fitness of Dr. Moray for the post to which he had been chosen.⁶ The first is a challenge to those

⁶Harleian MSS, #3790, see "Guide to the Material for American History in the British Museum etc.", Dr. Charles M. Andrews.

who might question his appointment to present any objections to a committee. It reads as follows:

"Oxford B. H.

"These are to give public intimation, that the King's most excellent majesty hath been pleased, to order the church in Virginia to be settled with a bishop; and to name Alexander Moray M. A. & rector of Ware Parish in Virginia for that trust and Place. If therefore there be any person that hath anything to object against the said Alexander Moray let them attend with good evidence his grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Bishop of London, the L:bp of Worcester and my Lord Bridgeman (to whom his Majesty hath committed the consideration of the settlement of the said church) on Thursday the sixt of February next at three in the afternoon, at the L:bp of Worcester's Lodgings next to the King's Guard Chamber in Whitehall.

Gilb:	Cant
Humfr:	London
Walt:	Wigorn."

The next paper, though numbered three is a duplicate of the above except that it is marked *COPY* and carried the date January 29, 1672/3. Next comes a paper marked #2 the contents of which would indicate that objections had been raised to Dr. Moray's appointment. It must be borne in mind that the jealousy between the English ministers and those from Scotland was beginning to make itself felt. As far as can be determined at this date, there were no specific charges brought against Moray, yet from the next two papers, we can see that the opposition was at work.

Folio #2:

"His Majesty having committed the consideration of the settlement of the church in Virginia under Episcopal Government, as also the person to be principally intrusted therein, to his Grace the Ld. Archbp of Canterbury, the Ld Bp. of London, the Ld. Bp. of Worcester and my Lord Bridgeman, they do hereby desire the persons hereunder named to attend His Grace and the said Lords at the Ld. Bp. of Worcester's Lodgings in Whitehall next to the King's Guard Chamber on Thursday the sixt of February next at three in the afternoon to inform his Grace and their lordships of what they know of the doctrine, life and conversation of Alexander Moray, M. A. and Rector of Ware Parish in Virginia.

Col. Smith of Rappahannock in Virginia, Gent.
Mr. Zackary Taylor, Master of ye ship Augustine

Mr. Yelverton Francis, Surgeon to the king's majesties
forces, ye Isle of Wight.

Mr. George Richard Virginia Merchant.

Mr. William Hague Virginia Merchant.

Mr. Ralph Harewood Virginia Merchant.

Mr. John Young Virginia Merchant.

Mr. Welding, Curate of Newington.

Gilb: Cant
Humfr: London
Walt: Wigorn."

The last folio is a petition from Alexander Moray asking for a chance to answer "severall false calumnies and foul aspersions cast upon your petitioner", and begs an opportunity to vindicate himself before his defamers. He calls as witness for his innocency the men mentioned in the paper given above. It is likely that this paper was written before the order above asking the men to come to the hearing.

It has been almost impossible to gather information about these friends of Moray, in whose hands he placed his reputation. Colonel Smith of Rappahannock was a leading man in his county in Virginia as well as in the affairs of the colonial government and the Church in Virginia. Being called a Gentleman it may be assumed he was not without influence in London also. Mr. Taylor was master of a ship which, judging from its name, may have belonged to the wealthy and influential Augustine Warner whose home was not far from the parsonage in Ware Parish. Ralph Harewood had been living in Isle of Wight county since 1650; he was the progenitor of the Harwood family in that and other counties in Virginia. The will of George Richards, probated in London in 1690 mentions his dealings in Virginia "about eighteen years ago". He died a wealthy man. About the remaining witnesses called, we can find nothing.

It is now impossible to determine, on existing evidence, the cause of the failure of the whole plan. Dr. Anderson in his history referred to before, states that "the nomination of the Rev. Alexander Moray was actually declared at one period of the Clarendon administration, but the matter proceeded no further. Objections were urged in the first instance, against the character of Moray himself, as has been seen, and although these accusations proved, upon examination, to be utterly groundless, other difficulties were quickly raised which had the effect of putting an end to the design."⁷ The statement that the Clarendon administration was in any way responsible for the failure of the plan may be called into question, as Clarendon was banished from England after the fall of his government in 1667, five years before the date which

⁷Anderson, II: 569

we have shown was on the papers calling witnesses to testify for and against Moray.

A century later the question of bishops for America became a burning issue. The Rev. T. B. Chandler published three pamphlets he had written on the subject, entitled "Appeal to the Public", "The Appeal Defended", and "The Appeal Further Defended". These appeared in 1767-1771. In the third pamphlet⁸ there is a quotation from "Letters to Walpole, p. 17" as follows: ". . . When the scheme for an American Episcopate was made the Object of Attention . . . an America Episcopate was proposed long before this time (*i. e.* in Queen Anne's reign) A venerable person says 'that *he* had met with an original letter that fell into his hands by Executorship from Dr. Alexander Murray in which he found that the Council had come to a resolution to establish the Episcopacy in Virginia that he himself (Dr. Murray) who had attended Charles II abroad, should be the first bishop; that the plan of Establishment was referred to the Bishop of London and Sir Orlando Bridge-man in the November following, and this was, so far as he could recollect October 16, 1673. And he supposed the matter then died, by the Cabal's throwing out Sir Orlando in the November following before the Bishop and he had made their report.' This unknown writer adds that he had returned the original letter to the duke of Bedford with several other papers belonging to the duke's family, but adds that he had taken a copy of it." A footnote on the above excerpt states: "The late archbishop discovered from the papers of Bishop Gibson, that there was such a design in the Time of Charles II, and that Letters Patent for that purpose are still extant." The footnote was written by Chandler, and would probably refer to the copy of the Patent found in Fulham Palace library.

With the reference to Moray's letter of explanation his story ends. Some writers say he died shortly afterwards, without giving any authority for the statement. His lands in Gloucester escheated to the government and were sold again in 1702. We have no proof that he ever returned to Virginia to end his days in the "hermetical state" he craved, among the attractions of the land of which he had such a keen appreciation.

⁸These pamphlets have been published in book form entitled "*Chandler on American Bishops*", and it is from this edition we quote.

A SIDE-LIGHT ON AN ANTE-BELLUM PLANTATION CHAPEL

By Nash Burger

CHARACTERISTIC of one aspect of the Church's life in the antebellum South were the chapels erected by the plantation owners, in which master and mistress, overseer and slaves worshipped together. There were many such chapels, and they ranged from simple, log structures to elaborate gothic churches, expensively designed and furnished with imported, hand-carved pews, stained-glass windows, and marble figures. Among the latter class is the still-standing but unused St. Mary's Church, on the Laurel Hill, Adams County plantation, then owned by William Newton Mercer, one of the wealthiest men in an exceedingly prosperous community.

A native of Cecil County Maryland, born in 1792, he had been an assistant surgeon in the American army in the War of 1812, and moving to the far South had, by careful management and marriage into one of the oldest of the Natchez district families, become possessed of vast wealth.¹

In 1839, Dr. Mercer erected on his Laurel Hill plantation, St. Mary's Church, which was consecrated by the Rt. Rev. James Harvey Otey, provisional bishop of Mississippi. For several years a clergyman was resident on the plantation, devoting most of his time to the religious instruction of the several hundred Negroes thereon. The last of these missionaries was the Rev. Thomas S. Savage, of Virginia, earlier one of the Church's first missionaries to Africa.²

When in 1850 the Rev. William Mercer Green (no relation to Dr. Mercer) came from the chaplaincy of the University of North Caro-

*Historiographer of the diocese of Mississippi.

¹Edwin Jewell, *Crescent City Illustrated*, New Orleans, 1873, pp. not numbered. Edwin A. Davis and John C. L. Andreassen, "From Louisville to New Orleans in 1816," *Journal of Southern History*, II (August 1936), 390-402.

²Mississippi Historical Records Survey, *Inventory of the Church Archives of Mississippi: Diocese of Mississippi*, Jackson, 1940, p. 52.

lina to become the first bishop of Mississippi, a correspondence ensued between Bishop Green and Dr. Mercer respecting St. Mary's, which sheds an interesting light on the circumstances of the building of such a chapel, on the purposes and attitude of the builder, and on the relations of the Church thereto. Incidentally, these particular letters indicate, as well, something of the master's opinions on the success of the work with his Negroes. Two of the letters from this correspondence are here printed.³

Natches Jan 14, 1851

Dr W^m N Mercer—Dear Sir I hope you will pardon me for a brief intrusion upon the many cares and the tender anxiety which must press upon you at this time.⁴ A sense of duty alone compels me to claim a moment of your attention. As Bishop of this Diocese I am required to report to each Annual Convention the condition of every Church and Congregation within its bounds. Upon enquiring into the state of the Congregation which once worshipped in St. Mary's at Laurel Hill I have met with such contradictory statements as to the relationship of that Church to the Diocese that I feel bound in justice to yourself as well as in fulfilment of my own official obligations to address myself directly and without delay to you. I regret that opportunity has not been afforded me of communicating with you in person. You will therefore I am sure, excuse me for obtruding this letter of inquiry upon you at this late moment of your preparation for a protracted absence from home. The information which I desire would have been sought at an earlier period if I had been appraised of your intended voyage.

Upon entering upon the duties of my Episcopate I was led to regard the Church of St. Mary in the same light in which all the other Church edifices under my jurisdiction are regarded, viz as the property of the Diocese made over by its pious founder to the Ecclesiastical Authority of the same, and subject to such control only as the laws and usage of our Church might exercise. You may judge therefore of my surprise on learning from a source not lightly to be questioned that that Ch is still considered by you in the light of private property. And you will readily pardon me, I doubt not, if under my ignorance

³Bishop Green's letter is the original, rough-draft before copying. That of Dr. Mercer is the original, final-draft received by Bishop Green. Both are in the Mississippi Diocesan Library, at Battle Hill, Jackson.

⁴A reference to the illness of Dr. Mercer's daughter, Anna, who died later the same year. (William Mercer Green, *Memoir of Rt. Rev. James Hervey Otey*, New York, 1885, pp. 47-48).

of the early history of St. Mary's, and in my want of personal acquaintance with you, I respectfully solicit from your own hand a statement of the present relations of that Church to the Diocese. You will readily perceive, and I trust duly appreciate my motive in asking such a statement. If the Ch be private property, I can enter only at the invitation of the proprietor. If it belong to the Diocese, as every other Ch does which has been in like manner consecrated by our forms it then becomes me without further delay to take such measures for the revival of the Congregation and the permanent establishment of worship within its walls, as will most effectually fulfil the intention with which it was erected. It is my earnest desire to see a faithful minister of Christ labouring in that region for the spiritual benefit of the few worthy families that reside there, but more especially for the many slaves whom Divine Providence has placed in their charge. If the number of worshippers likely to be interested in the reopening of the Church shall prove small for the support of a Clergyman, it is more than probable that a few families in the town of Washington⁶ will gladly contribute to his maintenance provided they can have his services on every alternate Sunday.

In some such measures for the good of that neighborhood and particularly for the spiritual instruction of the poor blacks, I flatter myself that I shall meet with your hearty approval and cooperation.

Although I had not the pleasure of knowing her⁶ whose devout spirit was led to erect that beautiful temple to the glory of God and for the good of his fellow men I can nevertheless assure you that no one will unite with you more heartily than myself in fulfilling to the uttermost her wishes in respect to it and in securing to the undertaking the largest measure of blessing that can be expected from it.

May I respectfully request such a reply to this communication as your present engagements will permit. And will you be pleased, Dear Sir, to accept my hearty prayers for the health and safe return of yourself and of that dear child whose very being and happiness, I doubt not, are bound up in yours. I will not fail to put up my petitions for you both, during your absence.

With high respect, I remain,

Your friend and servant in Christ

W. M. Green

⁶Washington, Adams County, 8 miles east of Natchez, a former capital of the Mississippi Territory. The Church of the Advent was organized here in 1852. (Mississippi Historical Records Survey, *op. cit.*, p. 74).

⁶Jane Ellis Mercer, deceased wife of Dr. Mercer.

New Orleans Jany 22^d [1851]

My Dear Sir,

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 15th Inst. The application, far from requiring an apology, is flattering to me, as a proof of your confidence in my frankness.

To show that your confidence is not misplaced, I will be as direct and explicit as possible.

My object in building and endowing the Chapel and Parsonage at St. Mary's, was to provide religious instruction and the ordinances of our Church for my slaves, and the consolations of religious worship to my family. As incidental to these purposes but subordinate to them, I was gratified that my neighbors should possess the opportunity of attending Divine worship near them. But I never intended to divest myself of the entire control of the Parsonage,—or of the Chapel, subject to the conditions of its consecration; or to assign my rights to the Diocese. Within the limitations just made, I have always been quite willing, as I still am, to be in union and connexion with our Church.

Such has been my language always. Bishop Polk and my friend Bishop Otey⁷ will remember that it was invariably such to them. The latter procured the services of two clergymen,⁸ that is advised me to invite them, which I did, and paid their stipend, as long as they pleased to remain.

My chief purpose was to instruct my slaves in their religious duties, and to enable them to enjoy the ordinances of our Church. My own family was absent from the country 2/3 or 3/4 of the time, and when at Laurel Hill might generally attend services at Natchez. My neighbours were amply able to provide for themselves.

I was aware that the experiment was of doubtful result. I did not expect to reform the old, or even much to enlighten them. But I hoped the young might be properly instructed, and that they would profit by knowing their duties, not immediately, but in a few years. Moderate as were my expectations, they have scarcely been realized. I have no reason for believing that the morality has been improved, or of hoping that they have a distinct knowledge of the doctrines of our Church, of the Divine Founder of our religion, of the obligations He imposed, or the consolations He offered.

I beg you, My Dear Sir, to receive my warm acknowledge-

⁷Bishop Polk made several visitations to Mississippi in the years 1839-1843. Bishop Otey seems to have been especially close to Dr. Mercer, through whose aid he was enabled to make a visit to Europe at this time, a visit cut short by the death of Dr. Mercer's daughter, Anna. (Green, op. cit., 47-48.)

⁸The Rev. Daniel S. Deacon and the Rev. Thomas S. Savage.

ments for the interest you manifest in the health of my daughter. We propose to pass the winter in Cuba, and if it please God to go to Europe next summer. In April I hope to return and to be allowed to cultivate your acquaintance, an advantage of which I have heretofore, unfortunately been denied. With many thanks for your kindness, believe me, Right Rev. and Dear Sir, with the highest Respect,

Your obliged and faithful serv^t

W. Newton Mercer

Bishop Green

BOOK REVIEWS

The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, Translated by Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein. Volume I of Three volumes. Philadelphia. Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States and the Muhlenberg Press. 1924. Pp. xxiv, 728.

This monumental volume is to be followed by two others, the work to cover the entire career of the founder of the Lutheran Church in America from the time of his arrival at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1742 to his death in 1787. Muhlenberg is to be remembered not only for his 45 years of service as a minister but also, with Anna Maria, the daughter of Conrad Weiser, as the founder of one of the great families of America. This family, like the Adames in New England, the Livingstons in New York, the Lees in Virginia, furnished men distinguished in the service of the nation for successive generations. Muhlenberg's sons, Gotthilf Henry Ernest, Frederick August Conrad, and John Peter Gabriel, were prominent in the building of an independent America, politically democratic, and culturally creative. A great-grandson, William Augustus Muhlenberg (1796-1877) was one of the outstanding men in the Episcopal Church, well known as a clergyman, educator, author, and hymn writer. Although Henry Melchior Muhlenberg "remained a simple Lutheran missionary in the eyes of his superiors in Europe, he became, in effect, a missionary bishop," and was known as "the Patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America." (P. ix.)

This book of 728 double-column pages is an indispensable source book on the development of the American way of life in its religious and cultural aspects. Muhlenberg accepted the political and constitutional arrangements of the colonies without serious criticism and, therefore, *The Journals* are not a document of political controversy. His observations are the by-product of his tireless religious activity and are free from the bias of a special observer, such as William Cobbett often was.

Born in the Electorate of Hanover in 1711, trained at the University of Halle by Gotthilf August Francke (1696-1769), Muhlenberg became an ardent representative of the Pietistical wing of Lutheranism and remained under the direction of the Halle authorities throughout his life and in close touch with Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen (1694-1777), chaplain in the German Court Chapel of St. James in London. In short, the relations between Muhlenberg and Europe were very similar to those of an S. P. G. missionary with his superiors in London. Each was dependent on the homeland for financial support, a supply of clergymen, for literature, and for the maintenance of high standards of training and personal conduct. These trans-Atlantic relationships necessitated frequent reports and were a chief reason for keeping a careful record. It was a common practice for religious persons to keep diaries in the eighteenth century. Wesley and Parson Woodforde readily come to mind as examples of keepers of diaries or journals.

When the letters, reports, and journals reached Halle, the information was

carefully examined and necessary instructions were given the missionaries, and, again as in the case of the S. P. G., Abstracts of Proceedings (*Hallesche Nachrichten*) were prepared for those who had contributed financially or were deeply interested in the work. The Complete Journals were carefully preserved by Muhlenberg and document the fact that the clergyman was the key professional man of the community, whose activities were normally many-sided and his records a picture of society as a whole. Muhlenberg "discusses colonial travel, the cost of living, the preparation of food, the scourge of epidemic diseases, and the prevalence of superstition . . . He refers to practical aspects of laws and courts. He takes great interest in medicine . . . [and] carefully notes how to make salve to cure rheumatism, how to mix a remedy for snake-bites, how to keep insects off cabbage, how to prevent cider from souring, and how to keep flies off horses." (Pp. xvi-xvii.)

Muhlenberg became more intimately acquainted with the Germans of eighteenth-century America than any other man of the time, and also he had many contacts with the leaders of every religious persuasion. In the words of the Editors,

He discusses the character of clergy and people, the financing and construction of churches, the salaries and fees received by ministers, clerical vestments, liturgical appointments and practices, preaching and church music, catechization and education, the administration of the sacraments, marriage and funeral customs, pastoral visitation, missionary labors among Negroes and Indians, congregational and synodical organization, and a host of other things. (Pp. xvii.)

Religiously Muhlenberg belonged to the period of The Great Awakening, which included such men as Jonathan Edwards, Theodore Freylinghuysen, William and Gilbert Tennent, and George Whitefield. All of these men were leaders in a Pietistical Revival, which helped make the Americans one people, a separate and distinct nationality, democratic in religion in advance of political democracy. Under these conditions the missionary founder was welcomed by the royal governors, preached in English, Dutch, and German, and worked with the Swedish ministers. His gifts were those of an administrator and a conciliator of factions in families, churches, and communities.

Racial America was in process of being united and the idea of one group as superior to another does not appear in *The Journals*. Revelatory of the practices of the frontier community is the account for Thursday, October 18, 1759:

About two o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at Bottler's Mill and learn that the English and German people had been waiting for me at the Baptist Meeting since twelve o'clock. There is no church in the neighborhood where our German Protestants live, except an English Baptist meeting house. As the local justice of peace is a member and leader of the Baptist congregation, our Germans asked him whether he would permit me to preach in the meeting house. The justice gave his consent with the condition that I preach an English sermon first. Consequently their preacher had announced on the previous Sunday that I would preach in English and German at twelve o'clock on this day. (P. 418.)

Too little is known of the Lutheran stock in early America. Numbers came at the beginning of our history and these include Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Finns and Dutch, as well as Germans. These early Lutherans were in touch either with the archbishop of Upsala in Sweden, or with the Lutheran authorities

in Amsterdam and Hamburg. The large migration of Germans after 1683 made Halle in Saxony under Francke a mother city of religion and culture. Germans were settled in all the colonies. About one-third of the population of colonial Pennsylvania was German, and about half of the Germans in the colonies were Lutheran. The accession of George I to the throne of Great Britain in 1714, but continuing as the Elector of Hanover, made Lutheranism in the Middle Colonies seem natural and helped support religious toleration as a fact.

The Editors have supplied a fine Introduction and used devices to indicate the sources, discrepancies in various texts, and the relation of *The Journals* to other works. A wealth of social and religious detail is an answer to the historian's dream and an Index with Volume III will make a great eighteenth century body of materials easily available. The Lutheran Ministerium and the Muhlenberg Press render a notable service in presenting this attractive publication.

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A History of Christ Church Parish and Cathedral, Hartford, Connecticut 1762-1942. By Nelson R. Burr, Ph. D. Hartford: Church Missions Publishing Company. 1942. Pp. 58.

In the year of our Lord, 1664 a group of seven Episcopalians in Hartford and Windsor, Connecticut, petitioned the General Assembly for permission to have their children baptized and to worship according to the custom of the Church of England. From this point Dr. Burr picks up the thread of the story of the Church in that Puritan commonwealth with a notice of the visit of George Keith in 1702 and the opening of the first Episcopal Church in Connecticut in 1722 and carries it down to 1762 when the Rev. Thomas Davis conducted the first service according to the Liturgy of the Church of England in Hartford in 1762. This booklet is written for the commemoration of the 180th anniversary of what is now Christ Church Cathedral. It well illustrates what can be done as a contribution to the history of the Church, by the publication of individual parish histories. They are invaluable as sources for the larger history of the life and thought of the Church.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

The World's Great Catholic Literature, Edited by George N. Shuster. With An Introduction by William Lyon Phelps. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. 441.

This Anthology of Catholic Literature, covering a period of two thousand years, comes with the blessing of William Lyon Phelps of Yale. Beginning with the story of the Nativity from St. Luke it goes down through the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century to Modern Creative and Critical Writing. No living writers are included, otherwise the selections are drawn from both saints and sinners coming down to Heywood Broun and Gilbert Keith Chesterton. The compiler has drawn on a mine of rich wealth and has done it with unflinching literary judgment, and as Dr. Phelps says brings to men and women "who are bearing the burden and heat of the day, literature that combines artistic excellence with spiritual beauty" and be it noted "Billy" Phelps is not a "Catholic".

It is the kind of book that a wise man will keep at his side and pick up from time to time when his faith falters.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

Religion in Colonial America. By William Warren Sweet. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1942. Pp. 367.

The happy fact that American Church History, after long years of neglect, has, at last come into its own, is due more to Dr. Sweet than to any other living person. A few years ago a dissertation for a doctor's degree on American Church history was unheard of in an American university. The fact that conditions have entirely changed is due to men like Dr. Sweet who now presents the first of three volumes which will reach down to the present day. The volume begins with a discussion of "Religious Motives in American Colonization", and embraces the contribution of Anglicanism, the Puritans, the Baptists, the Quakers, the Roman Catholics, the Dutch, the Germans and the Presbyterian Irish, and ends with the Great Awakenings. Of special interest to the readers of the *Historical Magazine* is the chapter on "Transplanting Anglicanism" beginning with Virginia. Of necessity this section is highly condensed—New York being covered in three and a half pages. It is in this connection that this reviewer would break a lance with the distinguished author. On page 64 he describes William Vesey who eventually became the first rector of Trinity Church, New York, as a "Presbyterian", and adds, "hardly had he begun his ministry in New York before Caleb Heathcote persuaded him to conform to the Church of England". He further makes the statement "It is, however, true, that Vesey was offered better support by Colonel Heathcote if he would consent to come into the Church". Dr. Sweet makes two assumptions: 1st that Mr. Vesey was a "Presbyterian"; 2nd, that he conformed to the Church of England by reason of a "better support" held out by Colonel Caleb Heathcote. One wonders what weight Dr. Sweet gives to the elaborate discussion of Mr. Vesey's ecclesiastical status as set forth in Dr. Dix's *History of Trinity Parish*,

Volume I, p. 98-107. There he sets forth the following facts: 1. The Vesey family were members of the Church of England at Braintree, Massachusetts, and "that in their family divine service was daily read". 2. At the age of fifteen he entered Harvard, graduating when he was nineteen. 3. Not being eligible for ordination as a deacon until he was twenty-one, he served as a lay reader at Sag Harbor for six months, and at Hempstead for two years. 4. In 1692 he became lay assistant to the Rev. Samuel Myles, rector of King's Chapel, Boston. Sewall writes in his diary, July 26, 1696, "Mr. Vesey preach'd at the Ch. of England; had many Auditors". Finally, is Vesey's own testimony in the *Letter Book of the S. P. G.*:

"I have been a communicant of the Church of England ever since I was 15 years old, and after I had my degree in the College of New England, by advice of some of our Churches (not being of age to receive Orders) I preached 6 month at Sag and 2 years at Hempstead in this Province, where, I presume, my Life and Doctrine were no disservice to our Church, and after 3 months in the Church at Boston, at the request of Mr. Miles and the Church Wardens; and then, by the Church Wardens and Vestry of the City of New York to officiate as minister pursuant to

an act of Assembly, as will appear by the inclosed minute of said Assembly and Vestry. Accordingly, I departed hence for England, there was honoured by the University of Oxford with the degree of Master of Arts, July 12, 1696. Ordained Priest ye 2nd of August following, and the same year I returned to the City of New York".

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

Wartime Pilgrimage: American Churchman's Views of Britain in 1942 by Clifford P. Morehouse. New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co. 1942. Pp. 237.

Mr. Morehouse has done well to share with us in the United States the varied experiences which fell to his lot in a two months visit to Great Britain. He was officially delegated to represent the American Church at the enthronement of the new Archbishop of Canterbury and had unusual opportunities to make contacts with the religious leaders in England. Of particular interest was his interview with Cardinal Hinsley, Archbishop of Westminster who described Archbishop Temple as "very sound in social and moral questions". He said that the Roman Church welcomed the co-operation of men of good will "in the application of fundamental Christian principles to the building of a better society". Other parts of the narrative give vivid descriptions of the author's visits to Exeter—twice bombed—Dover, within sound of Nazi artillery—and again to Canterbury which suffered severely in a second blitz. An appendix gives a melancholy list of cathedrals, churches and other public buildings damaged by bombs—two of the cathedrals—Coventry and Llandaff—were completely destroyed. The reproduction of photographs adds much to the value of the book.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

Arthur Selden Lloyd: Missionary, Statesman and Pastor. By Alexander C. Zabriskie. New York: Morehouse-Gorham & Co. 1942. Pp. 312.

First and foremost this book is a frank and intimate sketch of one of the best beloved men in the American Church in our time. Brought up as a Virginia Evangelical, he was in the best and truest sense a Catholic churchman, with a strong sense of sacramental values. The book is more than a biography. Its added value lies in the fact that it outlines the story of the development of our missionary work for a period of at least thirty years. Beginning as the General Secretary of the old Board of Missions in 1900, then as President of the Board, Dr. Lloyd shaped the missionary policy of the Church with conspicuous success. The author does not conceal the fact there were men who distrusted his policy. They were opposed to his advocacy of the Panama Conference, and felt that he "favored the Evangelical at the expense of the High Church wing". There is a graphic picture of the scene in the General Convention when the Every-Member campaign was launched and the National Council created. It was the climax of Lloyd's official missionary direction, for, owing to the aforesaid feeling, he failed of election as President of the Council. Though deeply disappointed, it was characteristic that he became rector of what was then a small parish until his election as one of the suffragan-bishops of New York.

In the latter capacity he had hoped that his long and varied experience would have been useful. Such was not the case. This part of the book is rather melan-

choly reading and does not speak well for the suffragan-episcopate as an institution, at any rate, as it was administered in the diocese of New York. It was devoid of anything like initiative. But Bishop Lloyd acquiesced cheerfully with its limitations.

The one thing he could do and did do was to exercise a quiet but effective personal ministry, not only to the clergy, but also to all sorts and conditions of men. He has left behind him the inspiring memory of a man "in whom was no guile".

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.